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OF THE

# Royal Society of Literature

OF

# THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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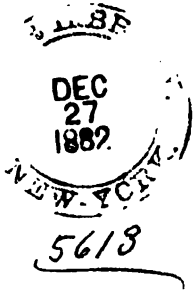


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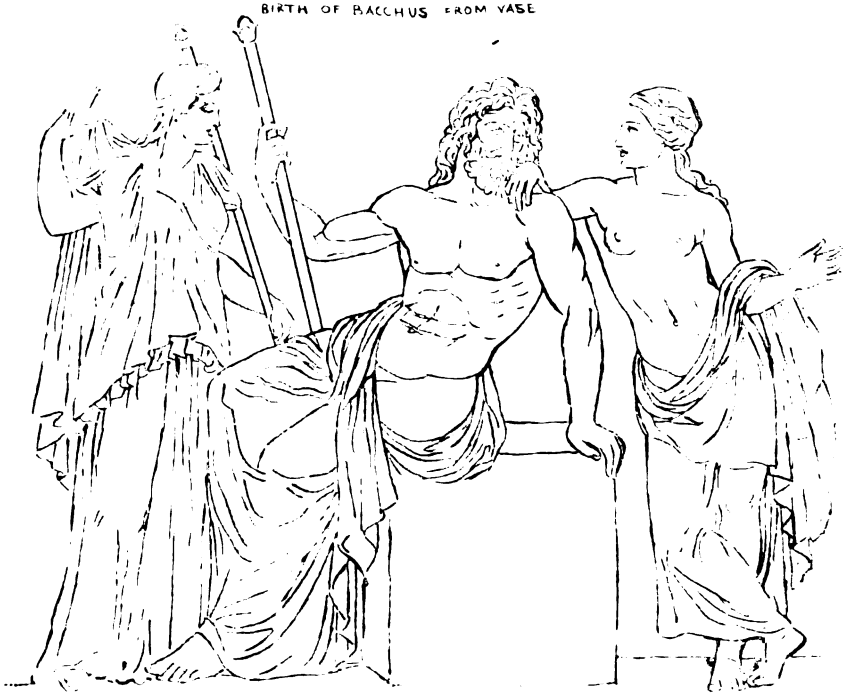

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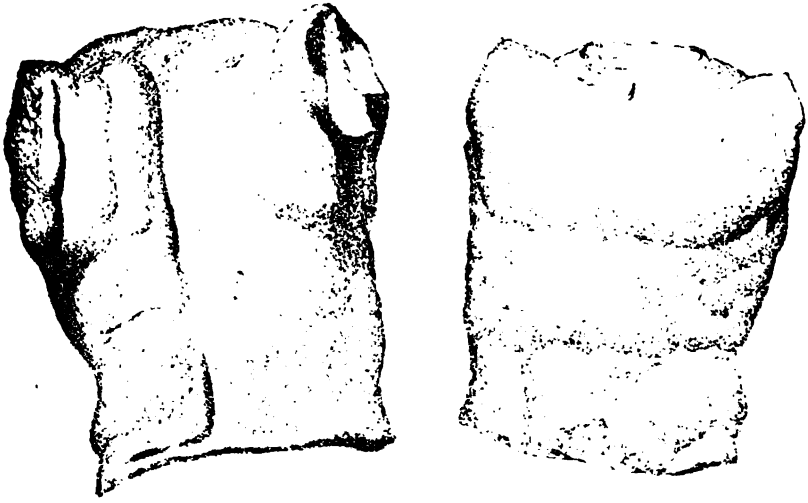

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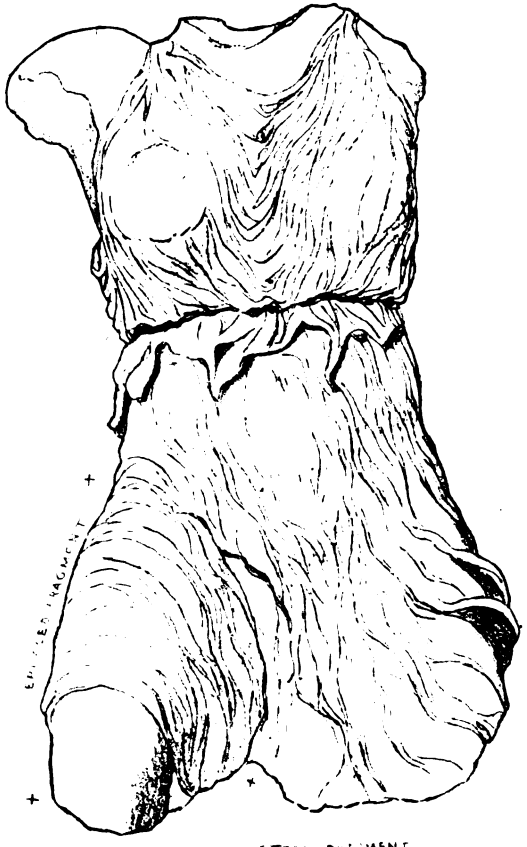
COIL OF SERPENT
BACK OF GROUP

CECROPS & AGRAULOS WITH REPLACED FRAGMENT OF COIL OF SERPENT



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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

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## I.—THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

BY WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.

(Read April, 1860.)

I TURN back, after many years, to review the interpretation I gave in 1847 (Classical Museum, part xviii.) of the sculptured groups in the Western Pediment of the Parthenon, and would render an account to myself of how it has stood the test of time, in what respect re-consideration or remonstrance induce me to modify it in general tenor or particular points.

For the general tenor—the chief matter of interest, I remain contented. I set forth, on the authority of a hymn to Athene by Proclus, and relying also on the analogy of parallel Greek legends, that the contest between Athene and Poseidon for Attica was related and popularly known, not only in the form of rivalry in beneficial creation of the olive and the horse, and of reference to Cecrops as arbiter, but furthermore as a struggle between the powers of land and sea, in which Athene made good her claim to the chief worship of the Cecropidæ, by staying the progress of angry Poseidon and his inundating waves. Single, late, or indirect, as the proof might appear, I argued and convinced those I chiefly sought to convince, that this form of the mythus

had a true archaic root and alone and admirably explained the expression of the groups, in this grandest of all the sculptured compositions of antiquity of which we have sufficient remains or records.

These views were immediately and vehemently contested by Professor Welcker, in a paper which will be found in the 'Classical Museum,' and also in the German collection of his works; but I find nothing in his arguments that affect my confidence in my views. I have even to thank him for an additional illustration of the prevalence of the tradition I relied on, and I am furnished by an opponent who was at the time an excited opponent, with the very arm which I could most have wished for,—a corroborative authority; the passage is from Statius,—

> "Ipse quoque in pugnas vacuatur collis, ubi ingens
> Lis Superûm, dubiis donec nova surgeret arbor
> Rupibus, et longâ refugum mare frangeret umbrâ."
>
> *Thebais*, xii. 632.

As regards secondary points I have one modification to admit. I am now satisfied that a figure is lost from the composition in the space between the river-god Cephisus and Cecrops. Among the drawings of Pars presented to the British Museum by the Dilettanti Society, is a very careful and detailed sketch of this angle of the pediment and its sculptures. It shows a large fragment of the raking cornice dropped from its position, and fallen between Cecrops and Cephisus, where it is lodged angularly, its corner having broken away some portion of the horizontal cornice immediately below it. There can be little doubt that together with the cornice, it damaged and sent down a figure that had its place upon this portion. The drawing shows a

vacancy between the two preserved figures that could not have been left blank, and that the interval is truly represented seems clear, from the escape of the leg of Cecrops and the shoulder of Cephisus from damage by the stone that ruined the cornice between them.

Photographs of the cornice as it exists, with the group of Cecrops and his wife still remaining, confirm the distribution now contended for.

Respecting the character of the figure which I am thus prepared to admit, I have no hesitation, and claim it at once for a daughter of Cecrops. I rest still on the interpretation of my former essay, that the figure grouped immediately with this hero, can only be his wife, and as tradition rigorously demands that he should have three daughters, I was formerly enforced to make up the tale by claiming as one the charioteer of Athene. The latter figure is therefore released, and the preferential claims of genealogical mythus being now otherwise satisfied, she may fairly be restored, though wingless, to the current title Nike; and because wingless, all the more probably as the Nike Apteros of the adjacent temple on the rock.

To the male figure beyond the horses, who is in a certain sense of expression her companion, I assigned in my former argument the title of Ares,—Ares who had a certain legendary alliance with the daughter of Cecrops. But the daughter and the charioteer being no longer identified, the argument, only forlornly hopeful at first, now halts without hope, and I confess it would be agreeable to me to be fairly free of the war-god in a scene where Athene was properly the sole and the sufficing protecting power. Arguments not unplausible may now urge us to recognize the figure as

Erysichthon the Cecropid, brother of Agraulos, Herse, and Pandrosos, who, according to the records of Apollodorus and Pausanias, dies childless and fails to continue the royal line. Legend at least distinguishes him constantly and consistently from Erichthonius, equivocal offspring of Athene or Ge, the vaunted stock of the autochthonous Athenians: Erichthonius as the nurseling of the Cecropid virgins, it may be said, is manifestly before us in the boy that they are tending on the pediment in the midst of their agitation; and was he not, we may pursue, necessarily represented as so youthful in order to give expression to their legendary function, while their own brother Erysichthon is fairly presented as stalwart, in the prime of manhood, and not remote from the verge of conflict,—though the conflict of gods?

All considerations weighed, however, I do not hesitate to identify the boy as the Cecropid Erysichthon, and the ephebus more near to manhood, or rather in the prime, as Erichthonius. Erichthonius is the more important in legendary history as type of the Athenian autochthon; his relations to Athene which are recognized by Homer are in harmony with his independent proximity to his patroness, and his Homeric relations to the Panathenaic festival are significantly expressed in the concern he tenders to the government or course of the horses of the goddess.

> "Primus Erichthonius currus et quatuor ausus
> Jungere equos rapidisque rotis insistere victor."
>
> *Virg. Georg.* iii. 113–4.

Thus the family of Cecrops is retained in an undivided group, and the subordination of the boy is fully justified by the reduction of his claims to no more

than a name that vanishes from legend without important consequence to the course of Attic nationality.

I have thought it worth while to add to the illustrations of the present paper two views of the folds of the mighty serpent on which Cecrops is seated, in a manner fully described in my former Essay. The application of the marble fragment to the cast here was a prime restoration, authentic by simple inspection, and grievously damaging the perspicacity or the candour of those who doubt or misinterpret.

It is worth while to notice here that the torso of Erichthonius in the Elgin room is very defectively and painfully posed; it is erected with reference solely to the centre of gravity of the mutilated block, and not to the attitude and expression, which are accurately known, of the figure when complete. Appropriately adjusted it would lend to the assembled groups, shattered though they be, a wonderful accession of harmony and play of line and force of effect.

This completes my palinode; I would now willingly proceed with the illustration of the sculptures of the eastern pediment which I left aside in former days, hoping that years in their process would indulge me with a journey to Athens, or that at least the progress of excavation on the spot would supply important elements of the groups so lamentably missing. Both aspirations have been all but entirely disappointed, and now are likely to be. It is indeed most remarkable how unfruitful researches among the ruins of the Athenian Acropolis and about Athens generally, have been in respect of works of art of the first interest or of the highest class. In pursuance of a recommendation made by me some years since to the trustees of

the Museum, casts of some of the most important fragments that have turned up, but I suspect of some only, have been obtained from Athens and deposited in the Elgin room, but they belong chiefly to the western front; the rest give little help indeed, but still I shall endeavour to extort from them some hints towards a conjectural solution of the grand problem of the eastern composition, and they furnish one very welcome completion of a subordinate group.

What is this problem, is well known and may be stated with brevity. We know from Pausanias that the subject represented on this chief front was the birth of Athene; the whole, he says, "has reference to the birth of Athene." Ancient poetical accounts of the birth of the goddess from the head of Zeus, cleft by axe of his son Hephæstus or of the Titan Prometheus, are abundant; and abound also painted and sculptured representations of the incident, on vases and bas-reliefs. The treatment of the subject varies from quaintness to ingenuity, according to the style and the vehicle adopted; but we cannot expect and shall not readily find an even approximate adumbration of a form which shall avouch a capability of dignity and grace, worthy of the chief composition of the chief temple of Greece in its most flourishing day. The difficulties of the representation that shall be both dignified and definite, are manifest at once. A paper on the subject published by Mr. Edward Falkener, in the 'Museum of Classical Antiquities,' renders account of most of the daring failures or dexterous attempts at evasion of these difficulties by artists ancient and modern, and adds, I can but say, more than one contribution to either category.

Brondsted, induced by the design he found on an

Etruscan mirror, proposed to place Zeus enthroned in the centre of the design, and to show a little Minerva rising above the head of the god, immediately under the apex of the pediment. The same view was adopted by Professor Gerhard, in a composition adapted from a vase-painting of unusually correct design. This notion, however, had been already rejected by Mr. Cockerell, as might be expected from his taste, and his scheme of restoration, declining the difficulty, exhibits the presentation, or rather the appearance, of Athene, to the assembly of the gods. Zeus is again enthroned in the centre of the pediment, his eagle at his feet; the process of the miraculous birth is suggested by Hephæstus, who stands at his right-hand leaning on the adze, and it is further to the right again, and then rushing towards her father and with profile only visible to the spectator, that Athene appears, full grown and in arms.

I dismiss the two first schemes and suggestions as entirely out of harmony with the spirit of Phidian art. "Phidias," it is excellently said by Welcker, "cannot have disfigured by a monstrous notion of the obsolete belief in miracles, and by a remnant of the rude simplicity of early ages, a work which in all its details contains evidence of the most extraordinary power of invention, and at the same time of the deepest and purest artistic taste, and which throughout breathes life and nature, notwithstanding its sublime grandeur; he cannot have intolerably exaggerated in his colossal marble a representation which, destined as it was for a small painting on a small vessel and for small and limited circles, was still bold and dangerous; and he cannot have exhibited such a thing to the eyes of all Greece,

in a spot which of all others at Athens, was calculated to invite the curiosity of all admirers of art. It is, indeed, repugnant to our feelings and impossible to conceive it."

Objections of a different class condemn to my mind as decisively, the restoration proposed in the publication of the British Museum. The incident halts between the birth and the presentation, and becomes confused and equivocal; the position of Athene is a countersense from either point of view, as she neither proceeds from nor is presented by her father Zeus. Her dignity in the pediment of her own temple suffers by her subordinate place and by reduction to profile; as well as by the fact that placed as she is, her figure, for want of height, must have been on a smaller scale than the Athene on the western,—the secondary pediment.

Other difficulties, as unmanageable though less important, come in. The sculptor, as we see by the completer pediment, increased the scale of his figures as he advanced to the centre; but whatever compatible proportions might be given to Zeus, his seated figure, if his feet were nearly on a level with the cornice, must have left a large vacant space between his head and the angle of the pediment. Hence the necessity in the design in question, of raising his throne upon a rock, though this scarcely does more than change the place of the objectionable blank, which again requires the introduction of a somewhat colossal and obtrusive eagle at the front of the god,—a suggestion from a Roman composition.

From consideration and feeling for economy and harmony in distribution of space therefore, I was

always of opinion that the centre of the eastern pediment was occupied by a standing figure of Athene, and that Zeus, as necessarily seated, would as necessarily find his position on one side and accommodate the slope of the pediment and the composition.

Contrast with the western composition requires a central figure, and no less so that Athene should here assume the pre-eminence which would suffer fatally by her being again arranged co-ordinately with either god or goddess.

I must be permitted to ascribe it to bias from recent studies of Lycian antiquities, that at the date of my former essay I was content to seat Zeus and Here facing each other on either side of the centre as in the Xanthian pediment, an arrangement which invited the utilization of the group of Zeus and Hephæstus in the Rondanini bas-relief.

This view was taken up by Mr. Falkener (see his essay, p. 361, note 3), and with him I believe still finds favour. His central Athene, however, is winged, and soars with unsupported feet. It may be questioned whether we are to regard her as soaring, or descending, or floating in suspense, but I decline the analysis; I can but condemn the suggestion from a sentiment of general repugnance which nothing but a necessity which does not appear, would enforce me to anatomize in detail.

A conjectural restoration of the composition, either partial or ambitiously complete, must be in harmony with the spirit of Phidian art in any case, and this condition observed, may resort for aid to the suggestions of the poetical and mythical descriptions of the birth of Athene, or of parallel incidents, and to the

representation, of these in Art. From these sources, literary and monumental, may be derived a choice of modes of treatment and hints of characteristic attitudes and gestures; and whatever materials are thus obtained, may be still further corrected in arrangement, according to the requirement of contrast with the western pediment.

The extreme angles of the Western pediment, in the midst of which Poseidon and Athene contested for Attica, were occupied by personifications of Attic rivers and streams and fountains, and thus, although the treatment of the conflict elevated it into an opposition of the elements of earth and water, of the fertility of the land and barren unproductive sea, still the scene was not merely terrestrial, but even local. This indeed was the principle of its force and interest; the inhabitants of Attica recognized the enunciation that they too were objects of interest to the divinity, that among them and on their very soil divine agency had been in immediate contact with man and his sojourn and his concerns.

The extreme angles of the Eastern pediment are occupied by personifications of larger range; at the southern corner Helios and his horses rise to the steep of morn, and at the northern again, Selene sinks downward with her team, and regards his rays but as she leaves them. Thus the intermediate space from angle to angle, "where the bowed welkin low doth bend," is the large range of the general world, and the grand span of the pediment becomes the wide cope of heaven; and the scene of its central incident is the ethereal sojourn of the gods, the ever-enduring.

There was a particular though subordinate aspect of

the legendary birth of Athene, that rendered it as distinctly elemental as any phase of the conflict of the goddess with the sea-god. By familiar allegory the goddess, azure-eyed, was recognized as the pure blue ether; and in her birth from the head of Zeus when cleft by the golden axe of the fire-god, the Greek was wont, among many other meanings, to accept a typical expression of the clear bright sky reappearing in the summit of heaven through clouds divided and dispersed, by the lightning-glance. (Aristoteles, ap. Schol. Pindar. Olymp. viii.)

These associations, however, were the glimmering background that threw into relief a broader incident and more impressive outline. The goddess who protected and gave her name to Athens, was here brought into immediate relationship to the great Olympian power, of whose force and whose foresight she was the recognized personification. The same phraseology that we are so familiar with in later religions, which ascribes to the miraculous offspring of the Supreme, the full essence of paternal wisdom and power, and by which he becomes the single instrument of all divine operations, even from the beginning, had long before been exercised and exhausted on the functions of Athene in relation to Zeus. She participates and even prompts his counsels, she keeps and even wields his thunderbolts.[1]

[1] Æschylus, Eumenid. 817; Virg. Æneid, i. 46. See Creuzer, Symbolik, iii. 462 and at large.

> Ἶσον ἔχουσαν πατρὶ μένος καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν,
> . . . . . .
> Ὡς οἱ συμφράσσαιτο θεὰ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.
>
> *Theogon.* 896–900.

It is true that these conceptions, as most definitely pronounced by non-Christian Greek writers, occur as late as the days of Aristides and of Proclus. Here it is that Athene is declared in positive terms and insisted on repeatedly, as "the great power of God, the Divine Wisdom and Foreknowledge." This however was the reappearance on the surface of the web of polite literature, of threads of association that in fact are continuous from its commencement, however they may vanish from time to time and be covered up so as to cheat the eyes of the superficial critic and investigator.

Allegory the most obtrusive, and physical and metaphysical personifications in barest manifestations, seem no doubt out of keeping with the concrete forms of Homeric poetry, but they are as salient in Hesiodic as in Aristides or in Proclus himself. In Hesiod they have somewhat of the air of veritable archaisms, which the development of artistic taste is on the point of superseding; but they lived on in mystic formulas and the under-currents of superstitious tradition, and among them were not a few that were thought worthy of resuscitation in new forms of life by the genius of Plato.

The conditions and the details of physical and metaphysical mythology,—of poetry in which speculation and dogma have the upperhand of imagery and abuse the advantage, are most rife at the dawn and at the wane of Greek literature; it is by comparison of these two periods that we may learn to appreciate many an enigma in the interval. With such hints to aid, the acute and practised analyst has easily traced the vestiges of such earlier creations in the highly metamorphic poetry of Homer himself; he discerns and can demonstrate

the steps of the Physicist and the Theologian or Theosophist of these primæval systems in the very secession of wrathful Achilles, in the intrigue of Aphrodite and the war-god, in the vain effort of the united gods to drag the chain which is grasped immovably by the single hand of Zeus, in the suspension by a golden chain of the sister-spouse of the Thunderer, a pair of anvils swinging from her ankles, and lastly and most to our purpose in the glorious and Miltonic picture of Athene arraying herself in the power and ægis of her father as she let fall her own self-woven peplus over the starry floor of heaven (Iliad, v. 734).

The miraculous birth of the intermediate link between the godhead and protected man, the strangely supernatural origin of the tutelary power, is a condition that religious man has ever exacted with rigour. It is thus indeed that the mind not hardily consecutive, persuades itself that it has reached a beginning, has fathomed the infinite, has arrived at a cause comprehending all causation. Who does not know the vagaries that the human mind has been betrayed into in its vain endeavours to repudiate its inevitable limitations? The Oriental theologian has to abide the questioner who demands what is it that sustains the tortoise that sustains the elephant that sustains the world; and is urged as relentlessly as is his brother of the West, who rising from the analogy of the watch and its contriver to infer from the cosmos a Creator, has still to reply to the challenge,—who made the watchmaker? Dogmatism which is ignorance, must settle its own complications with pragmatical insolence, which is but ignorance too; but in the meantime it will be difficult to find a single record of systematic supersti-

tion that does not rest complacently upon a type of miraculous birth of Godhead from Godhead, and frequently we find a series superimposed; as the birth of Zeus himself had in his day fulfilled the same conditions, and the necessary law did not ultimately spare to exact maternity, even from the virgin Athene.[2]

At Delphi, where the traditions and worships of Apollo and Dionysus so strangely and curiously blended, one pediment of the great temple was assigned to either god in the works of the sculptors, who were from Athens. Dionysus and the Hyades on the western front contrasted with the Apollo and Muses on the eastern. In the western composition the sun was represented as setting, in accordance with the propriety of the aspect but also in accordance with the symbolism of Dionysus, visitant of Hades, as the sun in the inferior hemisphere, a nocturnal sun-god (cf. Macrobius.); even as Apollo on the east is the true day-star, the god or genius of the risen and shining sun.

The scene of the Ion of Euripides is laid before the front of this Delphic temple at early morning, and the opening speeches and choruses are replete with allusions to sunrise and to the bright and pompous quadriga of the day-god.

It must suffice to observe at present, with respect to the terminal groups of the Parthenon pediment, that while the figures by their disposition connect themselves with the types of Eastern and Western boundary, they are still agitated in sympathy with the central incident, and show awakened or awakening consciousness of the critical event. This far-spreading and in-

[2] Cicero, De Nat. Deor. iii. 21.—Strabo, x. 472.—Gerhard, Ett. Spiegel, ii. 165.

stant recognition at the very limits of the universe, embodies a detail of the description in that Homeric hymn to Pallas, which no doubt to Phidias as to Thucydides, would have the authority of a hymn of Homer. It celebrates Pallas Athene, Tritonian, "whom Zeus of himself gave birth to, from his venerated head, already clad in arms of war, golden, refulgent;—awe took possession of all the beholding immortals. She to the front of Ægis-bearing Zeus vehemently rushed on from his immortal head, shaking a pointed spear. Mighty Olympus was convulsed fearfully of the forceful blue-eyed goddess; Earth from side to side direfully gave forth a sound; Sea too was moved, working with purpling waves, and the brine was effused upon a sudden,[3] and the bright son of Hyperion stayed his swift horses for the time, until the virgin Pallas Athene had removed from her immortal shoulders the divine armour; and glad was providential Zeus."

The delight of Zeus, well-pleased in his single and independent offspring, is characteristic theologically, as expressive of the full sympathy whereby she becomes his representative, not to say equivalent. The trait is insisted upon in the description of Philostratus, who, however late in date, gives many true reflections from earlier images and modes of conception (Imag. ii. 27). "Zeus," he says in describing a pictorial representation, "is drawing his breath with delight as they who have just wrought out a mighty contest for a great prize, and he is perusing his daughter as exulting in the birth."

I feel confidence that this expression, as on this occasion, may be recognized in more than one instance

[3] I adopt Baumeister's emendation here,—ἔκχυτο δ' ἅλμη, for ἴσχετο.

among the busts and statues of Olympian Zeus that have been preserved to us. Examples will be found represented by Müller (Denkmäler, ii. 1), I have inserted two among the illustrations. The first I would refer to is the head of the Thunderer as youthful, in the Townley collection, of peculiarly mild, indeed of sweet and complacent expression. The absence of the slightest tinge of unearnestness, mischief, or malice, forbids us to interpret the smile as the sardonic satisfaction ascribed by Hesiod to the god, when he had hatched his cruel plot against the comfort of mankind by the tricking out and dispatch of Pandora,—the rise of woman.

The expression of well-pleased regard is still more distinctly given in the Zeus Ægiochus of the cameo (Müller, ii. 1, 5), said to be of suspected antiquity, but fully allowed by me. Müller, designating the god as conqueror of the Titans or giants, says, "He is still clad in the Ægis, but has already crowned himself with the oaken crown as victor." I mistrust altogether the reference to a fight, and believe that the proper oaken wreath of Zeus is assumed here, if for any victory, for that which Philostratus ascribes to him, successful childbirth. Special account need not, methinks, be rendered of the Ægis, or if at all we may remember that the Zeus of the Homeric hymn is designated as Ægiochus on the very occasion to which I seek to appropriate the head. The Zeus of the Beugnot vase-painting is crowned, and so also, and not undeservedly, is the successful operator Hephæstus.

But still more remarkably to the purpose is a small bronze bust of the Museum Odescalcum (*ib.* xxxiii. 88; Müller, Denk. ii. 29, and see the illustration), of which Müller simply notes the expression as peculiar.

An oaken crown recurs; a winged thunderbolt may be not unreminiscent of the elemental allegory of the lightning-cleft ether; and most peculiarly, a hood-like veil retained over the back of the head by the wreath, drops down behind and falls on either shoulder.

It would be daring to speak too strongly of expression, with no more exact authority than this engraving: but I may say that to me it conveys the idea of mingled pleasure and lingering pain, and I am prepared to claim the crown and veil or hood, together, as the well-imagined intimations and symbols of the occasion of such conflict, the pain and joy of the birth of the blue-eyed goddess.

By what arrangement or contrivance may the sculptor of the pediment have precluded with equal success, the unhandsome suggestions the combination was open to? If Zeus be seated with his back to the pediment, as in the restoration of the British Museum publication, annoying conjectures vex the spectator who knows the story, as to how the officious fire-god found opportunity and position for his energetic act, and by what twist it was that the liberated goddess so dexterously and suddenly reversed the disadvantage of her first appearance. On the other hand, if the position of the Rondanini bas-relief be adopted, according to my earlier idea, the mischievous play of association again brings in vexation by the exposure of the skull of the god, while the goddess herself is in a false relative position and contradicts her origin.

Therefore it is that I turn again to the collections of antique designs, and seek for hint of a healthier and happier scheme of composition, among representations fragmentary or complete, of subjects that are attached

to this by analogy. Elucidations of the design of Phidias may be fairly sought from works that represent the same or a like incident from an anterior period and style among the painted vases, and then among works of later date, bas-reliefs and statues that date even long after his time. In one case we may look for hints and suggestions that he made available, and in the other, with great good-fortune to aid, we might light on an imitation or a reflection. The scheme of composition of the Æginetan pediment is most strikingly in agreement with a series of vase-paintings of similar subjects; and of some of the works of Phidias it is certain that there are preserved to us at least imitative though not emulative repetitions.

In the bas-reliefs 259 and 324 in the Louvre, reproduced in our engraving, we meet with figures of the seated Zeus repeated with remarkable similarity, as if derived from a common original. He is seated to the right; but, with three-quarter face turned to the spectator, looks the other way as he leans his left hand behind him on his throne. His right hand grasps the sceptre, and in the first example he looks with interest towards a group where Gaia, half-emergent from the earth, lifts up an infant to a female figure, while another, who leans on a short column, is looking on. This incident, except for the presence of Zeus, has closest agreement with the legends and representations of the birth of earthsprung Erichthonius; the comparison of a vase-painting however (Denkmäler, ii. 401), approves the sagacity of Visconti, who recognized it as a version of the birth of Dionysus, unrecorded in literature, according to which the wine-god completed his term not in the thigh of the Thunderer, but in the maturing sod

of earth. In the vase-picture it is Athene herself who receives the infant. A winged Victory springs eagerly forward with the tænia, the symbol of triumphant accomplishment, and Zeus stands by, an attentive witness, while the Bacchic nymph Œnanthe—so inscribed, leans on his indulgent shoulder, with a familiarity that would not be too little though she were, as she may be, the equivalent of Semele herself.

If we turn now to our second bas-relief,[4] we find that the incident to which Zeus directs his looks is not preserved. The analogy is avouched however by a parallel that is missing in the completer bas-relief, for here, as on the vase, we have the youthful female figure resting her arm on his shoulder, and here her gesture seems to be directing his attention to the object, whatever it was, that he sways his head and chest to enable him to behold. Another sceptred female is in attendance. There is a certain exhaustion and submissiveness in the air and action of Zeus, that expresses to me the parturient god; and I eagerly seize on the figure as giving a better type than any hitherto suggested, for the attitude and position of the Zeus of the Eastern pediment. The sculptor would thus gain for the spectator the full value of expression of the face of the god; he escapes the offensive suggestions of the exposed brain-pan; he realizes the happy moment, worth gold in sculpture, the moment of pause upon an expressive gesture, when like the wave upon the curl, it embodies as it culminates the impulse which bore it to its height, and prefigures the decline.

By an interpretation scarcely worth regard, the sub-

[4] Bouillon, Mus. des Ant. I. 75.

ject of the bas-relief has hitherto been called the Supplication of Thetis.

Archaic vase-paintings preserve curious records of the same tranquillity of expression that I note in the bas-relief. The design, Denkmäler ii. 393, might be thought equivocal taken alone; but comparison of numbers 227, 228, will fully vindicate the comparison. Here the birth of Athene is as manifestly as quaintly represented, and helpful Eilithyia, who appears with name inscribed on the Beugnot vase, is attendant and marked as ministrant with expansive gestures.

To complete the notice of illustrative parallels, I may observe that Nike, on the Beugnot vase, hastens with her ready wreath to greet the birth of Athene, as on the cited vase she gratulates the birth of the not dissimilarly autophuous Dionysus. The action of Hephæstus also curiously anticipates that of the god on the Rondanini bas-relief, as he starts away from the stricken Zeus, axe in hand, and looks back at the glorious birth in surprised and fearful admiration.

Simply then as a matter of conjecture, as an attempt to supply a solution surpassing previous attempts by at least possessing a single element of plausible propriety, I propose to place the erect and radiant and exulting Athene in the centre of her own pediment; to place her father Zeus in close proximity, seated to her right, and so seated that it is rather by inclination of his swaying body, that he turns to regard her with full and gratified admiration. I should suspect that a female figure, the equivalent of Eilithyia if not herself, was grouped with Zeus, and it is always open to artistic experiment to further extend the restoration to the right of Zeus, by adaptation of the figure of Hephæstus

from the Rondanini and Beugnot designs, if not rather —and this is the arrangement I prefer—to transfer this figure to the left of the blue-eyed goddess, as giving more force and expression to the suddenness of her appearance.

We can scarcely refuse to the erect and sceptred goddess to the right of Zeus on the bas-relief, the title of Here; the figure is very ineffectively composed, and does not impress me with any instructive reference to the pediment composition.

This arrangement, in fact, I find to be recommended if not enforced by a piece of very remarkable monumental evidence.

Among the casts obtained from the Acropolis, is one of a very remarkable male torso, of excellent work, and worthy of the pediment. Arms, legs, and head are gone, and yet is it possible to restore with certainty the general attitude of the figure at least, if not something more. The scale is colossal, but the muscular development is more than proportionately stalwart, especially about the shoulders and deltoids. This is a distribution of mass which would be suitable for the idealized form of the forger of the bolts of Jove.

Enough of the sterno-mastoid muscle remains to show that the head was turned towards the right shoulder. In the same manner below, from the oblique muscles of the abdomen, their tension on the right and bulge on the left side, it is clear that the weight of the body rested on the left leg. When the fragment is posed in accordance with these indications, there is little difficulty in recovering the action of the arms, and the general attitude comes out as by the aid of my friend Mr. Bonomi I have inserted it in the

group. I may notice that the representation of the figure is conscientiously to scale.

The action of Hephæstus, so to call him, places him incontrovertibly on the left-hand of Athene. My conception of his action is that he has delivered his wonder-working stroke and starts back at the result. His right hand flies up in amaze and admiration, while his left retains hold of the "golden adze" which a moment before he was wielding with double grasp. The instrument being held in the weaker hand only, relieves it from any appearance of being about to repeat the blow.

I have varied the action of Eilithyia from the bas-relief in order to harmonize it with the lively excitement required by the composition, while preserving an appropriate expression and grace.

The group is completed by seating Here symmetrically with Zeus. Even for this figure I have a certain authority; for it is thus—seated with her back to the event, and regarding it with head over her shoulder, that Here is witness of the birth of Athene on a vase-painting published in the collection of Le Normant.

In this hypothetical arrangement, I think the tale is at least told intelligibly, and told without ungracefulness, while the scheme is not adjusted without a certain degree of monumental authority for every figure.

My first design was to place the enthroned divinities immediately next to Athene, but after full consideration, I rest as I have shown in the engraving.

But the origin of my central goddess has not yet been adverted to.

The cited bas-relief being admitted as a plausible conception for the position of Zeus on the pediment

the temptation is irresistible to look round through the antique remains for the representation of Athene which shall be at least the most in harmony with the conditions that have been assumed.

A figure is required, which in its most beautiful point of view shall present almost, or perhaps exactly, the front face; lively, energetic, nay warlike movement is demanded by the spirit of the Homeric hymn, which, whether it were the text of Phidias or not, is sustained by the groups, so far as preserved, and also by the description of Pindar, the agreement of which avouches the deep acceptance of this ideal of the event by the general Hellenic mind.

> "What time his brazen axe stout Vulcan drove,
> And Pallas from the Thunderer's rifted crown
> With outcry loud and long impetuous broke,
> Heaven shuddered and old Earth with dread maternal shook."
>
> *Olymp.* vii.

The forward on-rush and the shaken spear are indispensable characteristics; but yet the stride must be so managed or qualified as not to diminish majesty by greatly reducing the apparent height of the figure, as well as from respect to the limit of depth from plane of tympanum to edge of cornice, the span of available support. Again, if the spear were vibrated over the shoulder, the proprieties of balance and gesture would throw the butt so far in the rear that it must effectively pierce the plane of the tympanum, while the spear-head in front would stick out most unhandsomely beyond the controlling plumb-line from the grand cymatium. Besides all these incongruities, there is the serious consideration that the goddess, thus rushing forward with directly poised and menacing

spear, would have an expression that postulates a definite enemy, while her protected people and special worshipers are alone the occupants of the place of exposure and alarm.

Having regard to all these circumstances, I find much satisfaction in adopting as at least my own favourite type and adumbration of the Athene of the pediment, the statue engraved by Visconti, plate xxiii. vol. 2, of the Museo Pio-Clementino.

"This statue of Pallas," says Viconti, "(7 palms in height or 6 pal. 8 onz. without the plinth,) is interesting for its happy and natural attitude, which conveys to us the warlike and bold character of the warrior-virgin, and at the same time expresses the etymology of her name, whether in Greek or Latin, Pallas or Minerva. If the latter were derived from the military rage or menacing aspect of the goddess, no figure can be found which more excellently represents Minerva armed with her lance, with which she overthrows whole legions of heroes (Iliad, *E.* 746). If she was named Pallas from the force with which she brandishes and hurls this terrible weapon, there is no other statue which presents her in this attitude, in the words of Homer, traversing the defiles of fight. . . . The statue itself, in respect of workmanship, is below mediocrity, and only preserves to us the admirable movement of the original."

Of the movement thus preserved, I can only judge through the medium of an engraving which I reproduce; but this impresses me with a sentiment by no means so absolutely limited by military fierceness and menace. The energy of the action seems to me to have been originally tempered with the gracefulness of con-

tours and movements, and a tenderness of beauty appropriate to the goddess—even Athene, when conceived in accordance with the occasion, under the most youthful ideal. Legend had more than one anecdote to relate, how other feelings besides unmixed awe greeted her first appearance to the immortals, armed and at maturity, and movements of admiration, of love, of rivalry, were excited for the bright and beautiful apparition. I should conjecture with confidence, therefore, that Phidias blended youthful beauty with majestic energy in the new-born Athene of the pediment, and tempered with a sentiment of exulting happiness, the conscious force and energy of the favourite daughter of Olympian Zeus.

It is not noted whether the arms of the statue I refer to are restored; but their action cannot have been very different to that assigned. The spear is grasped in the same way as that of the Athene of the Æginetan pediment, and the "sharp point" would rise above the helmet, and in every way harmonize with and help the effect. I would willingly believe that it was in truth the gleam of the metallic head of this spear, that the voyager to Athens hailed from afar at the moment that he was rounding the promontory of Sunium.

The Elgin collection comprises a fragment of the mask of Athene, the eye hollowed to receive a coloured eye, portion of the forehead, cheek, and nose, and a formal lock of hair. It is by this lock, from its agreement with the effigy of the favourite archaic tetradrachm of the Athenians, that we certainly recognize the fragment as part of the goddess. The head was colossal—but I hesitate to argue that it pertained to the pediment figure.

I have now exhausted my courage of conjecture, and withhold from any further attempt to divine the powers introduced by Phidias into proximity with the central group, their attitudes and the principle of their relation to the lines of the composition.

There is no lack of gods and goddesses plausible claimants for introduction, but I confess that the artistic problem of disposing and employing them so as to unite harmoniously the central with the terminal groups is too much for my courage, and in any case I am averse to propose merely arbitrary groups without the aid I have hitherto derived from the analogy of monuments or hint of a fragment.

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It is in accordance with a general principle of contrast, that the reclining figures at the extreme angles which on the western pediment are prone, on the eastern are supine. The same difference is observable between the two pairs of wounded warriors that occupy angles of the respective Æginetan pediments.

Properly to appreciate all the contrasts in the Parthenon compositions, we must bear in mind that the pediments in effect were placed back to back, and are therefore inappropriately compared when shown in an engraving on the same page, or pages following on the same side. The groups on either front would be illuminated by sunlight from the south at mid-day: but as the spectator passed round the building, the shadow-side of the figures, which in the west aspect is to his left, on the east is on his right hand. And conversely, as regards the groups themselves, the left sides of the statues are in fullest glare on the west front; and on the

chief front, not without some opportunities of advantageous improvement, on the right. At the same time, in virtue of the breadth of architectural effect with which general direction of illumination would concur, the northern half of one pediment would be the true seat of contrast with the northern half of the other, and the southern with the southern.

Accordingly while both pediments agree in the contrast of god and goddess at opposite angles, the northern angle of the west front shows a reclining god in antithesis to the reclining goddess of the north-east angle and so conversely. Analogous variations are managed in the Æginetan pediments; but not without a certain archaic harshness and formality. Blending by agreement and Contrast by difference, are the great resources and instruments of artistic composition; but the best efficiency of either, is contingent on such direction of its predominance that it subdues and harmonizes, but does not obliterate, the influence of its rival.

The correspondence of the groups at the angles of the eastern pediments, exhibits a triumph of harmony. On either side we have the horses of personified luminaries: at the south the fresh horses of Helios straining for the skies; at the north, Selene was stooping to her team, whose declining course was indicated by the mouth of one steed being so far depressed as to overlap the line of the horizontal cornice.

On either side follows a group of one reclining and two seated figures, but on the south side the two inner and seated figures are most closely associated; while on the north, companionship is most closely linked between the outer pair, of whom the reclining figure, feminine and most delicately draped, has a contrast of

its own with the nude contours of the reclining god of the south.

The triple goddesses of the north angle have been and may be confidently identified as the Moirai, the Fates triform, to whom Æschylus ascribes such profound significance. By their nature and function these personifications are constantly introduced in birth-scenes, and they are also constantly connected by Greek art with the grandest Powers, and in frequent association with the Graces or Seasons,—the Charites or Horai. Thus combined, about the throne of Zeus or the coronal of Here, the Fates appear the becoming exponents of all phases of time past, present, and future,—of all succession and causation, as the Seasons are of all expansion and the visible growth and development of nature in space.

The Moirai, as daughters of Night (frag. ap. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. p. 220), are appropriately seated in the west; and it was from the founts of Ocean, placed by Homer in the west (Il. xiv. 301), that, according to Pindar (Hymn. frag.), they conducted Themis to the sacred stair of Olympus to be the primeval spouse of Zeus, and mother of the gold-crested, prolific, and truthful Seasons.

The reclining attitude of one, the nearest to the angle, is in agreement with the western site and shadowy neighbourhood of the car of Night; and in the entire and absolute abandonment of repose, it is conveyed to us that her rest must have been shared a few moments previously by the sister on whom her weight reclines, but who is now aroused in eager excitement. The third sister is seated independently, though with feet and body so turned towards the others as to ex-

press association and sympathy, which are carried on by composition of the lines, and similarity in treatment and texture of the marvellous draperies. Simply for convenience of description, I assign to them the names, in order from centre of pediment outwards, of Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. The sketch of Carrey, dating 1683, shows the heads of Clotho and Atropos still preserved, but it is too faulty to give us much help for expression. The turned head, however, and the gesture of the right arm and suddenly drawn back foot of Clotho, show an attention directed to the great event, the great crisis of the manifested godhead, and convey distinctly to me the expression of listening to a sound, the Pindaric incident. Though her left arm is now broken away, we perceive by the statue that her hand rested on the shoulder, the left shoulder of Lachesis, whose attention she thus invites. In the busy action of Lachesis, who is rousing the slumberous Atropos, we see the excitement caused by summons to arouse another, rather than awe at the immediate recognition of the all-important occasion, which is the expression of Clotho. Lachesis is hastening to arouse her sister before she herself has more than sympathetic appreciation of the news.[5] But still her raised right arm shows that she, too, is an astonished listener; and I do not doubt that her head was turned to her right in harmony with the gesture, however slightly. It is clear that her right hand must have held, in the delicate way so often

[5] The combined motive reminds me of the awakened Eumenides of Æschylus,—aroused and mutually arousing;—

*Ἔγειρ', ἔγειρε, καὶ σὺ τήνδ', ἐγὼ δέ σε.*
*εὕδεις; ἀνίστω κἀπολακτίσασ' ὕπνον,*
*ἰδώμεθ', κ.τ.λ.*

seen on Greek monuments, the fold of her peplus. The position of the robe spreading over her back, requires it to be so sustained; and, on the shoulder, folds are interrupted by the fracture.

The position of the head of Atropos is very falsely represented in the old sketch of Carrey; we may see by the fracture of the group that it fell back on the left shoulder of Lachesis, inclining towards the tympanum, or it had fallen back there and was just raised and leaving her supporter, as indeed her lifted right arm shows the start of a sympathetic thrill. As we now gaze at the mutilated figure, and complete the lines in imagination, it is impossible not to be overcome with the sense of unrivalled beauty, dignity, and grace, which must have originally breathed from this creation,—so sublime in conception, so inimitable in mastery of execution, surviving damage, and immortal in the midst of destruction and decay.

In the diversification of the group, therefore, there is a triplicity of sisterhood that expresses the very harmony of co-operance that pertains to their functions in mythology; and at the same time there is a gradation in excitement, relatively to the incident that agitated and occupied the grand groups of the central composition. The ends of the universe are moved at it, but that we are at the end of the universe appears by the movement here floating off into the last spent ripple. Here time itself is refluent, and the event which suspends all Olympus in momentary awe, here spreads by a propagated impulse, certain, inevitable, all-pervading, but still with intervals, and graduating intervals, between its beats.

The triad of divinities which at the south-east angle

of the pediment answer to the Moirai, or Fates, on the north-east, are, I can entertain no shade of doubt, the Horai, or Seasons, and Dionysus. Again, simply for convenience, and with no intention to insist on an identification, I shall assign the names of the pair of Attic Horai, and style the figure next to Dionysus, Karpo, and her companion, Thallo—the goddesses of fruit and frond.

On this side we have an additional figure in its place—the messenger Iris, who moves towards the remote group in rapid course, and with gesture of manifest and acknowledged announcement. The forms of the goddess are light and almost girlish, and her course through the air is expressed by the plain closeness with which her robe lies on the front of her limbs in the direction of motion, the unfurled curve of the flying portions, and by the bellying veil which is now for the most part broken away, but of which enough remains to evince its general extent and management. Combining with her action, it reminds of the rapid progress of the Athene of Æschylus from the Troad to Athens,—

> Ἔνθεν δώκουσ' ἦλθον ἄτρυτον πόδα,
> Πτερῶν ἄτερ ῥοιβδοῦσα κώλπον αἰγίδος.—*Eumenides*, 400.

This bellying scarf, or peplus, would alone suffice to identify the figure as Iris, to whom such a symbol of the heavenly bow is assigned with frequency in monuments throughout the range of all classic art. Her ministration here gives emphatic emphasis to the remoteness of this secondary scene, while at the same time she combines it in sympathy. Her head was unquestionably turned back towards the centre of the pediment, her senses riveted in awe at the new-born

goddess, even while in spontaneous alacrity she is in full flight to announce the advent.

There is an appearance that the sculptor, in modelling the long folds of the drapery that sweeps down the discovered side and leg, made what is called a miscalculation; the groove of the fold cutting into the substance that would be occupied by the limb. All the figures of this extensive composition could not, of course, be wrought out by the hand of the master; this is evident in itself, and may be plainly seen by comparison of the relative excellence of the execution of the Horai and the Moirai; but the circumstance under notice is not to be interpreted as sign of inferiority or oversight. When the ridges of the folds were complete, the exact depth of the furrow would not be discernible, even at a limited distance, while the gain in depth would give value to the quality of the shadow and the refinement of the outlines. The same liberty was taken advantage of in the execution of the all-perfected Moirai; they have suffered much from the breaking away of the intermediate ledges of drapery folds, and it now becomes apparent how boldly the sculptor cut into the substance of the thigh of the Clotho, in confidence that while the truthful effect of the drapery was enhanced, no eye could discern the latent trespass upon the limits of the quick.

The destruction of the heads and necks of the Horai, deprives us of much of the beauty of the group, but not of the key to their expression. Karpo rests undisturbed, and with no hint of excitement, with one arm on the shoulder of Thallo, the other quietly on her own lap, and her position is so far retired that she seems withdrawn from the announcement of Iris.

Thallo, it is certain, turned her head to her right, towards her sister, and by this gesture, combined with the extension of the left arm, she gains the air of calling her observation to the approach of the heavenly courier, rather than to intuitive recognition of the glorious wonder. The divinities of the seasons, as natural rather than moral powers, may not have been inappropriately placed thus one degree less closely in intelligence with the manifestation of the personified majesty of Zeus, than the fateful triad of the north-east angle. Indeed, a certain predominance of dignity appears in the very heightened elaboration of the group of the Moirai, in contrast to the simplicity of the tranquil Horai.

The proportions of the seated Horai are very peculiar, their bodies are very short, and in fact a full third of the abdomen—especially in the case of Karpo, including portions just above and below the waist, appears omitted. It has been supposed that we have here one of those modifications of proportion by which it is well known that the Greek sculptors knew how to secure apparent truth by deviation from actual, especially in the case of statues placed in elevated positions. This can scarcely be the true explanation here, for the sitting Fate nearest to the centre of the pediment, a very parallel case, appears to be allowed her natural proportions, and apart from experimental proof it would appear a more intelligible correction for the height of the trunk to be exaggerated to correct perspective or to counteract the encroachment of the knees upon the upper part of the figure, as viewed immediately from below.

This leads me to the conclusion that Phidias found it desirable to make these two figures of as large

general proportions as possible, notwithstanding the restricted space, in order to balance the majestic Fates who have an advantage from the attitudes assigned to them by the composition. Harmony with the general scale of grandeur of the figures urged the same necessity; in consequence, he resorted to a compromise, and kept parts and members large while he abbreviated those which were less expressive, or more obscure, or which, whatever the chance of impunity, he had no choice but to reduce, unless he sacrificed his design entirely. The licence is of the same nature that the best dramatist takes with self-evident probabilities, and takes without hesitation, and so far as worthy audience are in question, without rebuke, when issue is joined between the requirements of expression, which is all-important, and the scruples of literal exactitude, which is not.

The contours of the Horai are maidenly, sisterly, and there is no difference between them to give the slightest favour to the interpreters who see in them either Demeter and Kore, or any other mother and daughter. The forms of the Moirai are much more full, and the Horai contrast with them no less in developments of figure than in draperies. The broader surfaces and more united sinkings of the draperies of the Horai, harmonize admirably with the nude breadth of the forms of Dionysus, and on the other side agree in character with the draperies of Iris as distinctly as on the opposite end of the pediment is the case as between the Moirai and Nike, a fragment we have yet to advert to. In fact it becomes an important question by what management this very marked opposition was blended gracefully in the approach to the central group.

I suspect that the balance was adjusted by the important nude figure of Hephæstus in the exact central group being on the half of the pediment that pertains to the Moirai, and the fully draped Eilithyia on that of the Horai.

Proceeding from this point of view, I might extend my conjecture so far as to place the seated Zeus on the northern side of the composition; but here, the suggested attitude being preserved, he would be leaning on his right hand and arm, and the scarcely dispensable sceptre would thus be thrown into his left, and his general position would become inevitably constrained. Moreover, the grandest male figure associated with Athene would be on the same side relatively to the spectator, as the Poseidon of the western front,—a most undesirable repetition. I therefore conclude for the reverse arrangement, and assume that the compensation required by the contrasted extreme groups, or rather the central arrangement which their contrast compensated, was dependent on subsidiary figures.

Discussion has been large and long, respecting the proper title to be assigned to the recumbent god of the south-east angle; Theseus has been his current designation, and the important authority of Welcker is in favour of Cecrops. My own settled conclusion in favour of Dionysus, has been, I believe, mainly due to the consideration, that by his proximity and resemblance of expression in repose, he is necessarily associated with the seated goddesses; that these are, by presumptions to my mind irresistible, the Horai; and that while the traditions and symbolism of Dionysus quite favour the association, the attitude and type of the figure are equally consistent with the name. Dio-

nysus was not alone and not so much, the god of wine, as the power and personification of humid nature generally, and hence of all the germinant tendencies of which moisture is the stimulant and the condition. Of necessity therefore he becomes a nature-god, an elemental power, and this aspect of his character received the most elaborate and the most fanciful and mystical developments. On the vases, especially the more archaic and hieratic, it is with the season-goddesses that he is grouped prevailingly and in preference; here it is true he usually appears sedate and bearded, even among the frolic of his followers; but it was from the very conception of his influence expressed in these groups, that he became associated with Demeter and Persephone, divinities of the harvest and the year, and appeared in multiform personification, the solemn, the sprightly, even the infantine participator in the mysteries,—nay, grand mystagogue of Eleusis.

In the sculpture he reclines very exactly in the same attitude as he is represented, with unequivocal accompaniments, on the frieze of the choragic monument of Lysicrates. The same attitude, perhaps still more strikingly repeated, is seen on coins of Crotona in Italy, but there the figure is unquestionably Herakles though holding out the Bacchic cyathus; Herakles in the guise of Dionysus, a not unfrequent interchange. The position of Dionysus here at the angle brings up to the mind his so frequent retreat in numerous representations, screened and embowered by close overarching vines, beneath which he is extended, not unsoberly or inelegantly jocund. The rock beneath him is covered with a drapery, and from below that emerge indications of a lion-skin, the claw and portion of the

jaw,—the lion-skin even like the cyathus, indifferently assigned to Dionysus and to Herakles (Tertull. de Cor. cxii.; Span. Callim. ii. p. 373). His figure is of mature robustness, but cheek and chin are smooth; the head and hair, though the general form is preserved, are seriously weathered, and we should be rash to generalize from a single and battered example, as to the uniformly slight execution of hair by Phidias in his statues—of Phidias to whom is due the lion-crested ideal of Olympian Zeus. The degree in which the right arm of the figure is raised, implies, I think, action, and not rest, and I confess therefore I am disposed to reject the supposition of either sceptre or thyrsus, and adopt a wine-cup,—cylix, cyathus, as you please,—which I conceive to have been raised with the motive of libation to the ascending sun-god. It is said that a hollow on the inside of the calf of the left leg, which now is filled in to a smooth surface with plaster, showed the place and indent of a rod, the smooth stem of such a rod as would fit sceptre, spear, or thyrsus. I have no opportunity of verifying the point, and confess to mistrust.

The libation at the commencement of a journey by speeding companions, is of most frequent recurrence on the vases, and is in true Homeric harmony with the dismissal of Achilles by Peleus, of Telemachus by Menelaus, of Patroclus by Achilles himself; Pindar also supplies authorities equally to the point. This recognition of the sun-god by the associate of the seated goddesses, is to me a further confirmation that we have here the Horai rather than the Charites. Assuredly there is fair occasion for hesitation and argument. The Attic Charites, like the Attic Horai, were a pair, as

contrasted with the famed triad of Bœotian Orchomenos. Their names Auxo and Hegemone, show them as readily convertible with Horai, as the titles of the Lacedæmonian Charites, Kleta and Phaenna,—the closer and the admitter of light. The Charites occur on recorded monuments in antithesis to the Moirai as frequently as the Horai; and in literature they are with greater frequency, and even more marked directness, associated with Dionysus, nature-god and year-god. At Olympia as well as at Orchomenos they were associated with him in altar, fane, and worship; and hymns at Elis hailed Dionysus as god of spring and attended by the Charites.

Thus their functions and attributes threaten at every moment to become coincident with those of the Horai, and the discussion which in antiquity delays Pausanias to insist that Karpo is a Hora, not a Charis, seems after all but about a name. To differences of name, however, some differences of association will always cling; and it is evident that either by symbols or more probably by ideal treatment alone, they were readily distinguishable; for while Phidias placed correlative groups of Moirai and Horai above the head of his statue of Zeus at Megara, on the upper part of the throne of the Olympian god at Elis, he associated the Horai with the Charites, and so also did Polycleitus on the *stephane* of his great work, the chryselephantine Héré of Argos. By a more salient contrast the Horai are found in the Hereum at Elis, antithetical to the Hesperides, nymphs whose western seat and relation to the evening render them correspondent to the Moirai of the pediment as complementary of the eastern Horai. It is on this ground that I cling to the equally Attic,

and more definitely Homeric, Horai. To goddesses thus named, Homer gives seat and residence at the gate of Olympus, where the valves at their signal roll back spontaneously to give egress to the chariot of Here, and where they are prompt also to receive and unharness her returning steeds, as it is their privilege to gather or roll back the covering of the sky. So the Athenian dithyramb of Pindar celebrates them as opening the chamber of blooming Spring, and heralding the new year that the god of joyous wine and fragrant vegetation leads along; and Simonides also in a hymn celebrates with enthusiasm the Dionysiac Horai of Athens.

The poem of Nonnus abounds in allusions to the Horai as Dionysiades, as nurses of Dionysus; but the authority, though an authority, is late, and I leave the argument as it stands.

The strong governing arms of the sun-god, remain stretched out towards his horses, but his head is lost, and I do not care to speculate whether the Sun, "all-knowing, all-beholding," was manifestly affected by the birth of the goddess, in accordance with the poetical description. A representation of water, as much quaint as conventional, occupies the flat space between his arms. More elegantly conventional waves curl above his shoulders, and rise upon his horses' necks. Originally he had all the honours of the four-horse chariot, for Welcker reports from a memorandum made at Athens, that two horses' heads on this side still remain in the tympanum. They are battered, doubtless, and yet it would be satisfactory to have casts of them, and accurate note of their position. The same remark applies to the single horse's head which, on the same authority, still remains at the opposite angle. It thus

appears that Selene, or Night, was only allowed a pair of steeds, and this is in agreement with a principle of subordination which Phidias observed when on the base of the throne of Zeus at Olympia, he mounted her upon a mule.

I have to congratulate myself on having been able to restore to its place, which the old sketch of Jacques Carrey shows was a vacant gap so long ago as 1683, the torso, still admirable amidst its mutilation, of the goddess Selene.

Among the casts already referred to in the Elgin saloon, of fragments from the pediment-sculptures that still remain at Athens, is a trunk of a female, represented as bending forward from the waist, and the outline of the back below the waist harmonizes with the front inclination, while the set of the shoulders indicates that the arms were in symmetrical action. The interpretation of this action is easy, by comparison of the large fragment of the team-controlling Amphitrite of the western pediment; it is the set pose of a charioteer, and particularly of a charioteer guiding a descent. The same motive may be recognized among the car-guiding figures on the Panathenaic frieze. Some of these have an equivocal female appearance, and their light drapery is confined about the form by bands which cross upon the breast. There is the same appropriate management in our torso, which, besides the string-like cincture round the waist, has others that retain the folds above from disarrangement by rapid motion, by drawing round under either swelling breast, and crossing from side to shoulder. The state of the cast is evidence that the marble was cut off horizontally just above the hips, and every point is in

harmony with the supposition that this is indeed the long-lost charioteer of the horses of Night. (30 April, 1860.) Convinced that the harmony of the composition, thus completed, would confirm and complete the evidence, I waited impatiently the restitution of the group. The restitution is, to a certain extent, now made, and with all the satisfactoriness to myself, and those whose opinions I value, that I could have desired and hoped for.

I can scarcely persuade myself that the goddess of night was represented as utterly unconscious and unattentive to the great cosmical convulsion at the delivery of Zeus; and if her head were turned ever so slightly in intimation of its effect upon her, the eager action of Helios, or Hyperion, would at once be defined with the same reference by mere communicated gloss and reflection.

We have still the fragment of Nike to dispose of. It was found lying upon the horizontal cornice, and from its proportions it appears fitted to be the figure adjacent to the Fates, and thus answering to the Iris on the opposite side. The title of Nike, or Victory, is clearly established by the pairs of cavities and mortise-holes in the back, for the attachment of wings, with some traces which seem to indicate that they were of metal. The skirt of the drapery behind shows also the management for supporting the lower ends of one or both. Above the waist the tunic, which is open on either side, is gathered and tied between the wings.

The Beugnot vase-painting of the birth of Athene, exhibits a Nike hastening forward to the centre with a wreath, and the like figure, with wreath or tænia, is repeated on paintings of the parallel subjects of births

of Erichthonius or of Dionysus, but whether for behoof of infant, parent, or nurse, is not always self-evident.

In the composition of the rise of Pandora, on the base of the great chryselephantine statue of Athene within the temple, a Victory was introduced; *Victoriâ præcipuè mirabili*, says Pliny, H. N. 36, 44. I do not doubt that she bore a crown for the newborn paragon.

On the base of the throne of Olympian Zeus, at Elis, Phidias represented Peitho in the act of crowning Aphrodite, newly born from the sea-foam, in presence of the assembled privy council of the sky.

The base of the statue of Athene, I will take this occasion to say, could have been little more than an enriched socle; the edges of her sandal-soles were well in sight, for a battle of Centaurs upon them contained groups that were objects of common admiration. Let this be my protest against a recent argument, or rather assumption, that the pedestal was ten feet in height, by a scheme of restoration as fatal to the effect of the sculpture, as the waggon-roof for the naos, which it is calculated to favour, would be to the proportions and consistency of the architecture.

I think, then, that the Nike of the pediment must have been entrusted with a metallic tænia, as the symbol of her sacred and triumphant office. Just in the middle of the left thigh there remains a metallic plug, which must have given attachment to some object or ornament; its position in the midst of continuous folds shows that no responsibility of costume was dependent on it. Is it possible that she carried not a crown, but a long and streaming gilded fillet or tænia, of dimensions as important as we see in the hands of her antitype on the vase?

A second restoration, which I have successfully made since commencing this essay, has added great value and illustration to the action of this figure; it consists in identifying among the loose fragments of the collection, one of the right thigh and knee which belongs to it, with a portion of the drapery.

The restoration has complete mechanical establishment, by the agreement in outline of the adjacent fractures, although the sharp edges on either side have sustained some injury. The proportion of the limb agrees, and the length of the tunic corresponds with indications on the torso, and the composition of the lines of drapery is thus completed, and with admirable effect, in enhancing the rapid motion of the goddess.

In the grand and energetic freedom of the stride, the short tunic leaves the legs bare above the knee. From the fineness of this drapery, and the closeness with which it adheres to the forms, the figure has almost the value of the nude in giving relief to the fully draped group of the Fates. This restoration has transformed a comparatively uninteresting torso into a magnificent statue.

Lastly, there is the confirmation, if such were wanted, of a circumstantial peculiarity in the treatment of the drapery. This consists in what I take to be the expression rather of creases than of very fine folds, by fine lines or scores cut upon the surface. They no doubt imitated an effect in some particular kind of drapery; I find them on the drapery of one of the statues of Nereids, in the Xanthian room, but on no other statue or fragment belonging to the Parthenon. One of these scored lines, continuous from the torso to the fragment

of the thigh, certifies, if properly adjusted, the exact point of union.

Thus restored, we see the figure leaping forward to the right, with an exulting spring. It relieves most effectually and beautifully the leaning lines of Clotho, and the action of Nike herself acquires the greatest force from the contrast of her weight-supporting knee, with the gracefully projecting but relaxed right knees of the adjacent Fates.

We may decide with confidence, from the bust, that the head was turned to the left, that is, towards the Fates; both arms were raised, and while the right would be extended towards the centre, it is probable that the left was bent from the elbow in the same direction, and I conclude that either hand held up the tænia, which the motion of the figure to the right indicated as destined for Zeus or Athene in the centre.

Skilful treatment would of course provide that while Nike was kept away from the central portion of the composition, in order to favour the precedence of divinities more important, still none of the intermediate figures could have, in the slightest degree, the appearance of claimant of the offered honours. Victory, therefore, on this side, is the countervailing figure of Iris on the other; each is intermediate between terminal and central group, and each, though by contrasted action, marks the division, and yet at the same time links the communication. Iris speeds to the angle, while her eyes still revert to Olympus; Nike springs towards the centre, yet as she does so, glances towards the group of Fates, in their graduated agitation. The touch of sympathetic links is continuous throughout. The attitude of Thallo hails and wel-

comes and almost anticipates, the announcement of Iris, even while her head inclines to invite the attention of her sister—her sister who turns to listen with tranquillity yet undisturbed. By his very position and repose, Dionysus belongs to the same group as Karpo, as he is greeting with gesture or libation the first beams of the day-god.

We have then very considerable, we may almost say now complete remains of the terminal groups of the eastern pediment, extending at each side as far as the fifth triglyph of the frieze, or the third column inclusive. Even so far on either side did these complementary groups advance; at this point, in either case, they were divided by marked cæsura from the grand central group, and the immediate scene of the labour and triumph of the god parturient. The division of this central scene in itself was, no doubt, into two grand groups, on either side of the independent and conspicuous, the exulting yet awful Athene.

The contrast with the western front, by which enhancement of dignity is achieved, is most noteworthy and admirable.

A single power asserts undisputed pre-eminence, instead of contesting, though with marked superiority, the divided field, The spacious intervals that on the west were occupied by forms of horses or lower animals, were no doubt free here for the human form divinely idealized, of scale coequal to the sister power. We are here in an assembly not of gods and men, but of gods and goddesses alone; and for these it was as welcome to have the most spacious division of the pediment at command, as on the west it was desirable to occupy it with horses, in order to break and blend

the transition to the smaller proportions of the Cecropidæ. On the west, the side groups not immediately witnesses of or participant in the main action, spread inwards from either end much beyond the spaces occupied by the third columns; but on the east, as we have seen, the correlative groups, which are of fewer figures, terminate here and allow magnificent range and scope for the awe and admiration-stricken assembly of Olympians.

Awe and admiration, surprise and even love, no doubt were provided with exponents, and harmonized with fit expression. That all hint and trace is lost of the particulars and principles on which these lateral groups were designed, in doubtless the richest combination, is one of the greatest misfortunes in respect of art, that the human race has sustained. It is only comparable to what the world would have suffered if the last book of the Iliad had been lost, or if we could allow ourselves to believe that anything so grevious could have been permitted, as for a tragedy of Shakespeare, ranging in excellence with Hamlet and Lear, to have perished in manuscript.

They who have the courage may pursue the analysis of proprieties, by comparison of ancient remains with modern symmetrical compositions of numerous figures, such as the cartoon of Ananias, or the Last Supper of Lionardo da Vinci; but for me, I have said that I set a bound to my conjectures, and by this, though after somewhat of transgression and over-indulged resolution, I will abide.

What more remains to be said?—what more is worth saying? Little indeed, and we have already said too much, if we are reduced to consider ourselves

as addressing an age that perhaps finds its account, and at least finds it conscientious and comfortable, to disparage the pure and natural expression by the Greek, of his awe at the universe and the spirit of its working, as paganism, and to abuse his idealized personifications of its unfathomable energies, as idols.

Sounds like these, it is true, float on the wind; but a better utterance is abroad, and may be heard if listened for; and taste and truth, marked out for death, are fated not to die at the hands of factitious public opinion, and the sophistications and servilities of those who fabricate and those who are eager to be in the way of the first favours of fashion.

"My soul, turn from them; turn we to survey," with one last retrospective glance, the spirit of the composition that we have endeavoured with all disadvantage to appreciate.

I have argued on the presumption that the Phidian aspect of art and conception of mythology are Homeric. They are so conspicuously in this respect in the case before us, that while the principal incident is clothed by the poetic sculptor in all the circumstance of localized tradition, special worship, and characteristic accretions from every age it had passed through, he still, with an augur's insight, penetrated to the primary symbolism that was its original germ of interest and life. Those who know most and know best the genius of Homer relatively to his materials, will recognize this process as Homeric, and by this it is that Phidias unites the fabulous, not to say the monstrous, with the sympathies of enlightened humanity, for all regions and all time.

The miraculous birth of Athene and her provident

affection for Athens and Attica, were legends recognized by poet and sculptor as legends, but also as symbolical in import; and were valued for the vigorous truth of their symbolism, admired for their capacities of beauty.

It has been by this faculty of insight that in all great ages of art, the transmutation has been effected by genius, of the decaying rags of superstition into the glorified vesture of transfigured philosophy.

The result could scarcely be less happy, and of a truth is far more dignified, than to stoop in cowering degradation to worship the letter of a tradition which as a letter is ever a falsity, to accept figment and fable for truth without a veil, and to ascribe all merit and attach all hope to the obstinate blindness and implicitness of such acceptation.

Wherever veritable Art survives to vindicate its prerogative of comment and illustration, there is promise of return to the simplicity, enlightened as well as pure, of which the ensample happened for us in antiquity. It is for artistic genius to predict, to prepare, and ultimately crown the triumph; for the rest, it is in pursuance of the instincts and unconsciously directed efforts of all ages, that even the common sense and much more the common sympathies of mankind, will tend to right themselves, and will correct the wildest dogmas and traditions by attaching to them symbolical interpretations perforce. It may be that there is intermediate logical inconsequence; but the energy of Sympathy ever insists on evoking a meaning which at least has a truth in itself and of its own; and not without protest, and not without suspicion, only consents to carry about still the load of discredited or repugnant

fable, under condition of wresting it on every active occasion to be the vehicle of a spirit that defies and denounces and will at last destroy, an oppressive imposture.

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I take this opportunity of mentioning a restoration of the frieze—subordinate, yet not without interest. My attention was drawn by Mr. Bonomi to a female head in relief in the collection of Dr. Lee of Hartwell, recognizable by scale, treatment, and material—Pentelic marble,—as pertaining to the Panathenaic frieze. On comparison I found that it was the head of the Hebe in the group of divinities at the east front, on which I have commented in a previous paper; it came at the angle of the slab, and was easily broken off by some depredator of early date. The air of the head is exquisite, and the mastery of relief is most worthy of the hand of Phidias.

## II.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS OF THE STATISTICAL TABLET OF KARNAK.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH.

(Read July 18th, 1860.)

THE recent excavations of M. Mariette, at Thebes, have thrown so much additional light upon the arrangement of the statistical tablet of Karnak, and added such important additions to it, that I am induced to resume my labours upon this remarkable inscription, and to show, from M. Mariette's sketch, what is the arrangement of the inscription and what portions are rendered more complete by the fragments discovered during his excavations. The so-called statistical inscription of Karnak consists of the legends inscribed on the north and south of a small temple of Thothmes III., built of yellow sandstone, in the Karnak quarter of Thebes, and which seems to have been erected for the express commemoration of his victories. The importance of these inscriptions had, early in the history of Egyptian discovery, attracted attention, and the first publication of a portion of their contents is due to Dr. Young, who edited them in his 'Hieroglyphicks' from a copy made by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. Since then the same inscription, and a more complete copy of the remainder,

has been published in the great work of M. Lepsius. The least important, according to M. Mariette,[1] of these inscriptions, is that of the south, or the right-side of the entrance; the restoration of Sethos II. has destroyed more than half of this text, and there only remains the closing thirty-four lines published by Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abth. III. Bl. 30, 6. It appears from an examination of the date that this portion contained, that the end of the inscription records the annals of the king from the twenty-first to the forty-second year of his reign. M. Mariette, indeed, gives the twenty-second or twenty-third, but the position of the unit, just below the centre of the two tens, is favourable to the idea that no other unit could symmetrically be present. This raises the majority of the king and his emancipation from the tutelage of Hatasu to his twenty-first regnal year, five years after the tablet of the Sarabout El-Khadem. It is clearly the close of the whole inscription, and forms what M. Mariette calls the fourth or last chapter of the text. The other inscription, that of the north, is divided into three portions; the first consists of the recital of the march of the king, and the speech of a deity to the monarch;[2] the second an inscription, divided into two sections by a gate, which separates sixty-seven[3] lines on one side from forty-three[4] on the other, the last four lines of which are not given in the publication of Lepsius, being discovered subsequently, containing the account of the battle

[1] Revue Archéologique, nouvelle série, 8vo, Juillet, 1860, Paris, pp. 30–33, pl. xvi.

[2] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 31, 6; Birch, Archæologia, xxxv. p. 116.

[3] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 31, 66.

[4] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 32; Birch, Archæol. l. c. 121.

of Megiddo; and a third division, consisting of fifty-four lines, the commencement only, at Paris, published in Lepsius, Auswahl, Taf. xii., which was followed by six lines, now lost, then by fourteen other lines in one fragment, and then by another fragment of twenty lines, both of which are given in the 'Denkmäler.'[5] It is this closing part of the north side which was first published, and the fragments discovered by M. Mariette consist of the ends of thirty-five lines of the commencement. It is this portion which I propose more particularly to consider on the present occasion, and I shall accordingly retranslate these first thirty-five lines with comments on the new words and phrases of importance which occur therein.

There is no addition to the heading of the inscription; it still reads, "His majesty ordered that the victories which his father [Amen Ra] had given to him should be placed on the stone wall in the temple which his majesty made . . . . . in her name [or its name], together with the captives brought by his majesty in it; it was made like [the horizon of heaven]". . . As I find no trace of the queen-regent in the inscription, it is scarcely possible that the phrase of "in her name" can refer to the regent. The compound form reads literally AR-AN-TU, and means 'has been made,' the affix of the preterite being interposed between the verbal root and the termination of the participle. A similar phrase, AM-EN-TU, with other variants, will be found in the fifth vertical line. The version of the first thirty-five lines with the recovered portion will read thus:—

"[1] In the twenty-ninth year, when his majesty was in

[5] Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 31, a; Bl. 30 a.

. . . . . attacking the hostile lands in it, in the fifth of his victorious expeditions, then his majesty took the fort of Ua . . . . . his majesty received the applause of his army, giving glory

[2] to Amen Ra . . . . victory to . . . his son; they were beautiful, his majesty was pleased beyond anything. After that, his majesty proceeded to the place of offering, and gave an offering to Amen as the light of the horizon, of oxen, calves, and geese . . . . . the sun, the lord of creation, the ever-living. The amount of the captives brought from that fort

[3] the race of the enemy of that country, 1 chief of that fort, 329 men, 100 pounds of silver, 100 pounds of gold, lapis-lazuli, copper, vases of brass and iron; then were filled the boats . . . . laden with all good things, with male and female slaves, iron and lead, emeralds,

[4] and all the good things. After that his majesty went and returned to Egypt . . . . . in triumph. Then his majesty destroyed all the corn, and cut up the good portions of the fort of Arutatu. Then his majesty went throughout the land of Gaha, and destroyed all their fruit-trees full of fruit, there it was found

[5] that their wine was as abundant as their waters, likewise their corn came in heaps out of their stores, they multiplied it for supplies for the troops, overwhelming them with these things. The amount of tribute brought to his majesty in that expedition, was slaves male and female 51, mares 32, 10 silver dishes [or hands], 470 jars of incense,

[6] palm wine and honey, 6,428 jars of wine, brass, lead, lapis-lazuli, and felspar, 618 oxen, 3,636 goats, of bread leavened and unleavened . . . . of corn and flour . . . . and all the good products of that land. The army was supplied there with palm wine

[7] daily, as if it were festivals in Tameri [Egypt]. In the thirtieth year, when his majesty was in the land of the Ruten, in his sixth victorious expedition; his majesty approached the fortress of Katesh, attacking it, cutting down

its fruit-trees, destroying its corn, coming .... the land of ... tu. Then his majesty approached the land of Taru, and went to the fortress of Aruttu and did the same there. The amount of tribute

[8] brought to the spirits of his majesty in that year, then there were brought the brothers and children, to be in the power of Egypt, and if any of the aforesaid chiefs died, his majesty ordered his son to be in his place, the number of chiefs brought in that year was .... slaves, male and female 181, mares 188, chariots

[9] inlaid with gold and silver, painted forty [in number]. In the year 31, on the third of the month Pashons, an assemblage was made of the captives taken by his majesty in that year, those brought from the fortress of Anrutu, on the bank of the Kharna, were living prisoners, 490, ..... of the son of the enemy .... [3] superintendent of .... women who were there 1; total, 494 persons, 26 mares, 13 chariots,

[10] all adorned with war-trappings. His majesty took that fort in an hour, with all its contents. The convoy of captives offered by the chief of the Ruten who came to do homage [to the spirits] of his majesty in that year [amounted to] .... slaves male and female 72, ... of that land; 761 pounds 2 ounces of silver, chariots decorated with silver 19,

[11] with all their decorated trappings; buffalo cattle 104, steers 172, total 276; goats 4,622, iron in its ore 40 bricks, lead .... gold 41, breast-plates painted with studs, and all their products,

[12] with all the good wood of that land; then all the countries came journeying to his majesty, supplying bread leavened, jars of palm wine, frankincense, wine, honey, flour, ..... all its numerous ... all accounted for to let the army of his majesty know without doubt

[13] They are placed on the rolls of the palace; they are not given in this inscription in order to avoid a multiplicity of words, by putting them down in this place, making them ..... writing down the tribute of the land of the Ruten as numerous bushels

[14] of corn and barley, frankincense, palm wine, new wine, and all the delicious fruits of that land. They have been returned into the treasury, likewise the manufactures of the . . . . . are reckoned . . . . . 33 . . . stones, with emeralds, and all the precious stones of that land with numerous stone

[15] of fire, with all the good . . . . . of that land. [When] his majesty approached Egypt, the directors of the colonies came bearing their tribute of precious stones, and jasper . . . . . 10 male Negroes for servants, cattle

[16] steers 113, bulls 230, total 343, besides the boats laden with ivory, ebony, panther-skins, and [all the] products of that land . . . 8 . . . [the tribute of the] Ua-ua 31 cows, and calves, and 61 bulls, total 92,

[17] besides the boats laden with all the good things of the land was the tribute of the Ua-ua. Also in the thirty-third year his majesty was in the land of the Ruten, approaching . . . . . that well his majesty set up a tablet to his father

[18] the king, the Sun, greatest object of creation [Thothmes I.]; then his majesty sailed along, taking the forts and harrowing the land of the enemy of the vile Naharaina in . . . . . he . . . . the river, led behind them, no one looked [or was seen]

[19] behind him; he was alone; for they came with a spring like lions in the region of goats; then the horses . . . . . his whole army, having the chiefs

[20] and their women 30, men taken prisoners 80, slaves, male and female, with children, 606, surrendered, women . . . . . their corn. His majesty approached the town of

[21] Ninii in his course; when his majesty came he set up his tablet in Naharaina (Mesopotamia) to enlarge the frontiers of Egypt . . . . . the tribute brought to his majesty by the chiefs of that land

[22] 513 slaves, male and female, 260 mares, 45 pounds 9 ounces of gold, silver vases of the workmanship of the Tahai . . . . . [chariots] with all their trappings, bulls,

[23] calves, buffaloes 28, bulls 64, goats 5,323, frankincense 828 jars, palm wine of . . . . . all the delicious products of that land, and numerous fruits;

[24] then were the cities, supplying things as they were compelled by their agreement of yearly contributions, with the manufactures of the Remenen, according to their rate of annual tribute with the chiefs of the Remenn, . . . . . 2 eagles [?], 4 unknown birds

[25] of that land. Then there was a . . . . of things brought by the chief of Saenkar, 4 pounds of real lapis-lazuli, and 24 pounds of artificial, and lapis-lazuli of Babylon . . . . pounds, . . . . . of true lapis, and the head of a ram of true lapis-lazuli,

[26] 15 ounces, and vases . . . . brought from the great Khita in that year, 8 rings of silver, making 301 pounds, of white precious stone, one great stone, and . . . . wood . . . . . to Egypt on his passage from

[27] Naharaina to enlarge the frontiers of Egypt. Sledges of stone were brought from the land of Punt in that year, lustrous gems 1,685 carats [?] . . [pounds] of gold 155 pounds, 2 ounces, slaves, male and female, 134, cattle

[28] and calves, 114 bulls, [305] total 419, besides boats laden with ivory, ebony, panther-skins, and all the good things of [that] land . . . . . sheiks 3, males 12, total 20, cows and calves 9,

[29] bulls 60, total 104, besides the boats with all the good products of that land, measured on the spot also. In the thirty-fourth year then his majesty was in Gahai . . . . . his going, a welcome to his majesty throughout on his birthday. The number of

[30] fortresses captured in that year 2 fortresses, surrendered on the confines of Anaukasa, total 3, the captives brought from . . . . . 90 captured, surrendered with their women . . . . . .

[31] and children . . . . . 40 mares, chariots plated with silver and gold, 15 gold vases with their covers 50 pounds 8 ounces, gold vases of that land with their covers 153, iron . . . . . 50 small . . . . 70 asses, much *gaka* wood,

[32] black wood, sont wood, a breast? . . . . full with the lintels of a door, plated with brass inlaid with stones 9, with

all the good wood of that land. The chiefs of the Ruten brought in that year .... mares, chariots plated with gold and silver and plated 34, slaves, male and female, 512, gold 55 pounds 8 ounces, polished silver vases

[33] of the workmanship of that land ... [pounds] 6 ounces .... pounds of silver .... stone, and precious stones .... vases, iron in ore 80 bricks, lead 11 bricks, 100 pounds of paint, stones, felspar, and emeralds ..... great quantity of wood, numerous iron vases, frankincense 390 jars ....

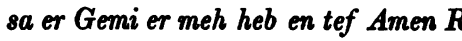
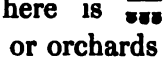
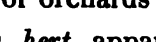
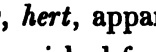
[34] delicious palm wine, of green dates 2,080, jars of wine 608, a gaka-wood chariot, with acacia wheels?, all the good wood of that country. Then all the tributary lands of his majesty were supplying all good things for his majesty to receive ... boats laden with their beams .. and the ....

[35] great logs for his majesty's .... The chiefs of the Asi brought in that year 108 bricks of iron, 2,040 pounds of pitch, 6 bricks of lead, 1,200 ounces of lead, 110 pounds of lapis-lazuli, 1 tusk of ivory, 2 chairs, sheiks .... 40 ... the daughter of the chief of Arma ...."

This closes the fragmentary portions recovered by M. Mariette, which present great importance for the historical events of the epoch. The fifth campaign of the twenty-ninth year opens with Thothmes being in a northern country, where he takes a fort beginning with the name of Ua. As none of Kushite or southern people[6] are mentioned as possessing forts, this name must be restored from a comparison with other lists, such as the names Uahat, Uarki of Sheshank I.[7] This was probably one of the forts of the Ruten, victorious upon this occasion: the kings make an offering to the god Amen Ra at the *khebi* (l. 2), a place which received stores

[6] On the statue of Poeri, prince of Æthiopia, British Museum, Egyptian Gallery, No. 70, the *tasha en Rameses*, or "Fort Ramses," in Kush, is mentioned.

[7] Brugsch, Geographie, taf. xxiv. a, 13, 133.

of viands, or was otherwise the ἐργαστήριον, the prison or workshop, of captives and slaves, as in an inscription at Karnak,  *Em sa er Gemi er meh heb en tef Amen Ra*, "with living slaves for Gem, to fill the workshop of his father Amen Ra;" here, however, it is mentioned as the store-room of the offerings or temple in a foreign land. The king from hence appears to have been on the return to Egypt, and attacked the fort of Arutatu: this place, which I had formerly thought was Arvad, or Aradus, appears to be close to the land of Gahai, in which I am disposed to recognize the celebrated Gazæ, famous for its toreutic and metallic work, and used at a later period for valuable furniture. The name *Gatatu*, which M. Brugsch reads Gaza, appears to me, from its final ending, to be rather the celebrated Gath of the Philistines, while he places the GAHAI north of Berytus. In this same line occurs the word ASMAR, , which I have hitherto translated 'smaris;' the same word, as SMER, occurs at a later time, and the substance came from the Kenous "as the smar of Kenus, for all the work in it."[8] The march of the monarch was marked by the usual devastation of vineyards and cornfields. The phrase here is  *men*, which seems to mean gardens or orchards; and they are described as full of  , *hert*, apparently fruit,—not flowers,—and to be distinguished from  , *tekar*, apparently from this passage clusters or masses of fruit, the Coptic ⲧⲁⲥ (l. 4). In the description of the land in l. 5, the well-known form for excellence is used instead of that of *sam* in the present copy, and at the end of

[8] Brugsch, Geographie, xiii. 2 e.

the line occurs the formula *kar-su*, ,[9] 'there,' which, or its homophones, often close sentences. This land of Gaha is indeed described in glowing colours, as literally flowing with wine and piled with corn, and recalls the Biblical descriptions of the land of Canaan. So abundant were the supplies that the army was daily refreshed, or literally drunk,[10] with *baka*, or palm wine, as if it had been a round of perpetual festivals in Egypt itself; an expression which shows that rations of this wine were issued to the troops on the occasion of festivals.

If other evidence were required of the position of Gahai, it would be afforded by the papyrus of Rameses III., in the possession of Mr. Harris, of Alexandria. This magnificent roll, which contains an account of the riches and possessions of Rameses III., has, at the commencement of the ninth page, one of the speeches of the God, or King: "I have built thee," it says, "a sacred house in the land of Gahai, like the horizon of Heaven on high, the house of Rameses, the ruler of Annu [Hermonthis] in the land of Pakanana, in the quarter of thy name. Thy great image is produced within it, the Ammon of Rameses, the ruler of An; the lands of the Ruten come to it, bringing their offerings as to its God; the whole earth comes to thee, bringing their products for tribute in procession to Gemi, thy holy city." In the campaign of Rameses II. they are described as south of Katesh.

[9] Lepsius, Todt. xlv. 124, 4.

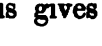
[10] , *tekhu*, is literally 'drunk,' . The same phrase occurs in the Ibrim tablet of Seti I., speaking of the refreshment of the troops. For forms of *tekh*, 'weight,' see Champollion, Not. Descr. 585; Lepsius, Denkm. iv. 54 b, 73 d, in Pap. Salt. 118. Brit. Mus. loco Lepsius, Todt. 125, 24; it has a block of stone after it.

In this text the land of Gahai is placed antithetically to the land of Pa-kanana, or the land of Canaan, which shows that it lay in that direction. It is to this place that the land of Ruten come as tributaries, showing that this last-named country also lay in the same direction; while their position as north of the Great Sea, or Mediterranean, and embracing the district of Ermenen, or the supposed Hermon or Libanus, brings them closer to Egypt than the elephant and the yellow bear which they offer seems to justify. The question of the geographical position of these races therefore requires reconstruction. The name of Remenen or Ermenn is equally capable of being philologically read as Armenia,—a name certainly as old as Herodotus,—as M. Brugsch[11] proposes, and the Ruten would then correspond with the *Regines* of Josephus, the descendants of Ashenaz, whose position has not been determined. In the printed extract from Mr. Harris's papyrus I have used the word *shta*, commonly translated 'secret,' 'mystery,' as sacred, it being evident that the king could not have built a 'secret' place.

The razzia of Thothmes was continued in the following year in the land of Katesh; but this great fortress did not succumb till the reign of Rameses II. In the same year the king approached the land of Taru, , or Tyrus, and went to the fortress of (l. 7) Aruttu, or Arvad, where he destroyed the country in the same manner. Now this name of Tyrus has hitherto only been discovered in the Anastasi Papyrus,[12] and in the list of Rameses III., at Medenat Haboo:

[11] Geographie, ii. s. 38.

[12] See my 'Annals of Thothmes,' Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. ii. p. 354; and Brugsch, 'Geographie,' ii. s. 42, and following.

here it is joined with Arutu, or Aradus. This fact involves the historical and chronological question of the date of the foundation of Tyre, which must have an earlier date assigned to it than that of 1282, and restored, if not to the date of Herodotus,[13] of 2750 B.C., at least to 1500 B.C.; in fact there is every reason to believe that the city of Tyre was the oldest, according to the assertion of the Phœnicians themselves,[14] of the Phœnician Pentapolis, and preceded the foundation of Sidon, which is not mentioned till the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, while in the present annals it occurs with the city of Aradus. Tyre appears indeed as a flourishing state in the days of Joshua,[15] immediately after the Exodus; but Sidon, not Tyre, is the great city of Homer[16] and the early Greek traditions. The quantity of spoil brought from this district, and the hostages required by Egypt, were considerable, and give a high idea of the early civilization and commerce of Tyre in slaves, horses, and chariots. M. de Rougé has indeed read this name Tamaru, instead of Taru, and supposed the place to be the Tsamari of Genesis and the Simyra of Strabo; but the identification depends on the supposition that the hand holding an offering reads *ma*, instead of *ta;* or rather, that it is not the hand holding the curved stick which occurs as determinative of *ta*. In the thirty-first year an assemblage of the captives taken from the Anruta, a fortress situated on a lake or river, to which various names have been given. The copy of Lepsius gives  ,

[13] Brugsch, Geographie, ii. 43, 44.

[14] Strabo, xvi. 756. [15] xix. 29.

[16] Odyss. xiii. 238. Cf. Mr. Dyer's article, 'Phœnicia,' Dict. Gr. and Rom. Geography, ii. p. 608.

which I originally read Merna, and M. Brugsch has translated by Nasruna,[17] in M. Deveria's recent copy of the same word, taken from the portion in the Bibliothèque Impériale, gives , apparently for Kherna. The name of Anaruta has been compared with the Anaharat of Joshua,[18] but there appears no great reason for this assignment. The fragments found by M. Mariette enable us to complete the amount of the spoil of this fortress, which fell in an hour into the king's hands. Among the prisoners is mentioned (l. 9) a superintendent, apparently of women, ; but owing to the mutilation of the monument in this place, it is not possible to decide what was his office,—perhaps one of the eunuchs of the harem; he is mentioned after the tutors or nurses of the royal children; but this title indeed has some similarity with the name of the *Heru-Sha*, a people mentioned at this and the Ptolemaic epoch; 490 persons, 26 horses, and 13 chariots were taken in this fort. In the same year, the fragments state that the Ruten sent a large tribute of 761 lbs. 2 oz. of silver, 19 chariots, 14 buffaloes, 172 calves, 4,622 goats, 40 bricks of iron ore, some quantity of lead, 41 . . lbs of gold, and a contribution of wood. Among the objects offered are 31 , *shaku*,—perhaps breastplates painted or adorned with , *sestu*, studs or points of iron, probably the Hebrew צִיץ, *tsits*. In this line is the word , applied to the measure or quantity of corn.

The cord occurs in the word ,[19] AS, as if used

[17] Histoire d'Égypte, 4to, Leipzig, p. 101.

[18] Brugsch, Geographie, ii. p. 42.

[19] Lepsius, Todt. xxi. 52, 2; xxxix. 108, 8; lxxi. 149, 16. A

for that syllable; but its appearance in the initial of the word SESI,[20] or SESR,[21] arrows, points to a probable value of S, although the syllabic value of AS would suit in the word ASPU, jasper.[22] This value of S appears better than the hitherto supposed K, from its interchange with the syllable KA in the name of KABTI, Coptos. The first part of the group also occurs in the often-repeated word HEBS-EN-MA, Garments of Truth.[23] The word HESB is also used for measure. In the inscriptions of the nineteenth dynasty relative to the Nile rising, the same word occurs in the sentence *hru pen en kha sesh Hâpi au hesb ari her sne neter het pen Amen ra suten neteru*, "On the day of leaving the register of the Nile, the measures of corn were deposited in the granary, a divine contribution to Amen-Ra, King of the Gods."[24] The Ritual Belmore, Brit. Mus., gives in the place (Lepsius, Todt. 162. 10). The phrase at the end of the thirteenth line indeed presents great difficulties; the logical sequence of the phrase, taken in connection with the registration on the royal patent roll, is 'without mistake' or 'doubt;' *men maums*. A similar phrase occurs on a tablet at Samneh, dated in the reign of Osertesen III. which says of the negroes *au maa enset kherfmen maums*, "they saw his majesty (the king) without mis-

similar phonetic group, on the D'Orbiney papyrus, xvi. 6, is used in the sense of 'sacrifice.' According to M. de Rougé there is also AS, 'to go,' or 'depart.' Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 58.

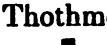
[20] Leps. Todt. liv. 131, 2.

[21] Champollion, Not. Descr. 170; Egypt. Gal. Brit. Mus. 32. Coffin of the Queen of Amasis.

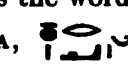
[22] Champollion, Gr. Eg. 100.

[23] Lepsius, Todt. lii. 129, 6.

[24] Cf. Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. III. Bl. 200 d, 10, 207 d, 218 d.

take," or doubt (Lepsius, Denkm. ii. Pl. 136. h.) The *précis*-writer of the inscription must have had some such phrase in his mind: for the satisfaction of the army a list had been kept of the tribute given. As the king marched back to Egypt, pearls or other stones were offered by the heralds or commissioners of the *Gan-(but)*, or miners of the king in the peninsula of Sinai; but from this time the inscription becomes more fragmentary, and can only be partially restored. In the thirty-second year tribute appears to have been sent to the king from Kush, or Æthiopia, consisting of 10 Negroes, 113 cows and calves, 230 bulls, ivory, ebony, panther-skins; the Ua-ua, another Æthiopian people, contributing also 31 cows and calves, and 61 bulls or buffaloes. In the thirty-third year the king entered the land of the Ruten, and on this occasion approached a , *utbti*, or 'ditch,' (l. 17) which had been formerly excavated by his father Thothmes I., as is shown by the demonstrative pronoun , *pen*, attached to it. This word, in the sense of ditch or well, is distinct from the words  [25], or ,[26] *khenmti*, a well, or *shot*,[27] a well or ditch. The word *utb*, or *ubt*, occurs in the sixth chapter of the Ritual, and innumerable variants of the word occur on the numerous sepulchral figures, where it is spoken of "all that is done there [in the Hades] to dig the fields to water," or "draw water for the ditches." Here it occurs as a substantive masculine. From hence the king continued his march into the Naharaina, or Mesopotamia. The army continued its career unchecked, like a lion in a

[25] Prisse, Mon. xxi. [26] De Rougé, N. Journ. As. 1858, p. 524.
[27] Select Papyri, vi. l. 7. *shoth*, cxvi. 22, cxvi. 4, 5.

land of goats, according to the official statement, taking 30 chiefs, 80 prisoners, 606 slaves, and other booty. From thence he approached Ninii, or Nineveh, and the fragment found by M. Mariette, completing line 20, proves that the city mentioned at the top of the twenty-first is this great capital, here, indeed, called a fort. It was here that Thothmes III. set up his own tablet as the boundary of his empire, as he had restored his father's tablet in the Ruten. This was probably followed by the description of the events of another year, and of another race who brought 513 slaves, 260 horses, 45 lbs. 9 oz. of gold, Gaza vases, chariots and armour, 28 buffaloes,[28] 64 bulls, 5,323 goats, 828 jars of frankincense and palm wine. The word *shanura*, in the sense of decorations or armour, has been already discussed in previous papers, but the text of the recently-discovered lines divides the word into two elements, SHA, 'wood,' and NU-RA,  , as if it were an adjective: the phrase reads *sha neb nurua*. The cities continued to supply either Egypt or the royal host, according to their agreement with the chiefs of the Ermenn, or Armenia, from which it appears that Egypt had by its conquest of the Ermenn imposed its yoke on the tributaries of that nation. From the Ermenn or a neighbouring people were sent two hawks or eagles, birds of a mountainous country, probably from Ararat, and four birds of an unknown species, to adorn no doubt the royal aviaries as the beasts did the paradeisi, or parks, of the monarch. Rare birds, it has already been shown in a former memoir, were sent by

[28] The word *tepa* here is read 'fat' by De Rougé. Dr. Hincks read 'savoury.' This word also occurs as the *tepa* which comes from the north wind.

Candace to Alexander, and by Alexander to his tutor Aristotle, and the study of zoology was first studied under the patronage of kings. The tribute of Saenkar was chiefly lapis-lazuli, real or artificial, and the lapis-lazuli of Babylon; the newly-discovered fragments also record the head of a ram of that material. Another nation, surnamed the 'great,' sent 301 lbs. of silver, and a great white stone. Phœnicia, or Punt, contributed 1,685 measures of gems, 155 lbs. 2 oz. of gold, 134 slaves, 419 head of cattle, ivory, ebony, and panther-skins. Another land gave 20 males, 104 head of cattle. There is an important notice in the thirty-fourth year, when the king was in Gahai, or Gaza, 'he was fêted on his birth-day,' but the date of the genethlion is not mentioned. Here he took 3 fortresses on the confines of Anaukasa, many prisoners, 40 horses, gold vases, 70 asses, and *gaka*, a dark wood, and sont wood and 9 pillars of a door plated with brass and inlaid with gems. Large tributes continued to be sent by the Ruten, who supplied horses, 512 slaves, 55 lbs. 8 oz. of gold and silver vases, silver, gems, 80 lumps of iron ore, 11 bricks or pigs of lead, 100 lbs. of colour, emeralds and jasper, wood, iron vases, frankincense, 390 jars of palm wine, and 2,080 jars of the juice of the grape, or beer, birch (*gaka*), wood chariots, acacia. . . . The tributary lands in this year supplied beams for the king's palace. The last of the tributary states mentioned in this portion of the inscription is the land of Asia; or the Asii, as they are called. The tablet which I have recently translated and commented upon at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, places these people to the west instead of to the east of Egypt. The tribute consisted in 108 bricks of iron, 2,040 lbs.

of pitch, or, according to Brugsch, iron, 5 bricks of lead,—not tin as M. Brugsch supposes,—110 lbs. of lapis-lazuli, an ivory tusk, and some other products.[29] It is true that, considering the name and products, I was inclined to believe that the Asii were the Is or His of Herodotus, celebrated for the naphtha-springs, but M. Brugsch[30] has pronounced for a district of Palestine, assuming that the word *seft* is not pitch but iron. The new tablet, however, of Thothmes, proves that they must have been a people either of Libya or Europe, and their products agree with the first-mentioned continent—the ivory, naphtha, and lapis not being natural products of Asia Minor. If the word *Hebi* had not been proved to be the Oasis, such products might indeed come by the way of commerce from the south shore of Asia Minor. There is in this last line the mention of the daughter of the chief of Arma,[31] or, as I prefer to read it, Mar, the determinative of water, showing that the locality was in some maritime or fluvial country, such as Meroe, considered as an island owing to its being surrounded with water. This closes the text of the fragments of the thirty-five lines discovered by M. Mariette.

In connection with the Thothmes III. annals is the following list of southern conquests of that monarch.

[29] It appears from Mr. Harris's weight that the *kat*, or ounce, weighed about 140 grains, and the *mna*, or pound, 1,400 grains; Mr. Harris's weight of 5 kat being 698 grains, say, allowing for abrasion, 700 grains; the system was decimal, 10 *kati* making 1 *mna*. See M. Chabas, Rev. Arch. 1861. p. 4 t., and Mr. Edwin Smith, Proc. Soc. Ant. 1860.

[30] Geographie, ii. s. 51, 52. The whole of his argument rests on the question of the word iron.

[31] Brugsch, Geographie, s. 8; Rosellini, M.R. lxi.

In April, 1859, Mr. Cyril Graham had communicated to me the discovery of a new list of prisoners of Thothmes III., discovered by M. Mariette, at Karnak. In a new chamber situate very near V in Lepsius's general plan of Thebes, and close to the small chamber built or restored by Philip, on the eastern wall, and on each side of the doorway are the names of 115 nations conquered by the great king; on the portion of the wall north of the door, 75 only are visible, the remaining 40 being carried over. They are arranged in 5 rows of 23 names in each, and over them is an inscription giving the subject of the representation. As far as I can make out from Mr. Graham's copy, the general heading reads, "The collection of lands of the south, and Au [the Libyans] and Khent-hannefer . . . . brought are all their chiefs as living captives to fill the house of [my] father Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the world, behold all the countries are in the power of his majesty, as his father Amen ordered." The list of names reads, commencing with the 115th of Mr. Graham's list:—

DIVISION I.

1. Kush.
2. Atarr.
3. Atarukhau.
4. Khau.
5. [erased.]
6. [erased.]
7. Serunak.
8. Barubaru.
9. Takarr.
10. Aram.
11. Arak.
12. Ark.
13. Taruru.
14. Bashakar.
15. . . em-kar.
16. Mer [l] eker.
17. Tanit.
18. Pakhrua.
19. Taruta.
20. Tarutaru.
21. Ua-Uat.
22. Mua.
23. Behaa.
24. Khtau.
25. Tashau.
26. Tahabu.
27. Utau.
28. Ta-set.
29. Pahu.
30. Bau.

DIVISION II.

31. Urentum.
32. Tumen.
33. Anaa.
34. Anbet.
35. Aama.
36. Buut.
37. Ppatu.

38. A 'hau.'
39. Ahaa.
40. Iua.
41. Tat.
42. Antemut.
43. Aspau.
44. *Pur-mau.*
45. Ahau.
46. Am-messu.
47. Mensau.
48. Aaha.
49. Khuahau.
50. Mehtema.
51. Auhu [ru.]

DIVISION III.

52. Auhu [ru.]
53. Aâtem.
54. Mmatu.
55. Mabutu.
56. . . . rtat.
57. S[et]hebu.
58. Shatem.
59. Athtun.
60. Hekau.
61. Utent.
62. Sebau.
63. Mest.
64. Ab.
65. Aaheb.
66. Kekt.
67. Sesh-sh.
68. Kaam.
69. Aaur.
70. Ba[p]sta.
71. Unkhi.

DIVISION IV.

72. S . . . t.
73. Abu.
74. Kenset.
75. Mausu.
76. Tahennu.
77. Aft.
78. Maaut.
79. Hebu.
80. Maah.
81. Bet-bet.
82. Menkh.
83. T . . . ent.
84. Ta.
85. Huât.
86. Nu.
87. Apinub.
88. Bash.
89. Maas.
90. Khas.
91. Ta.

DIVISION V.

92. Semkha.
93. Tater.
94. Uart.
95. Ubh.
96. Nasht.
97. Tatnas.
98. Ges.
99. Aau.
100. Nesh-sht.
101. Besh . t.
102. Shas.
103. Bakt.
104. Ashset.
105. Tuant.
106. Su.
107. Mesta.
108. Mest.
109. Taneferu.
110. Au.
111. Abtai.
112. Tetnepen.
113. Tatent.
114. . . . .
115. . . . .

The names in this list are difficult to read, and as the character of the prisoners, whether bearded or not, for example, is not marked, they can only be assigned to their position south or north of Egypt from a comparison with the other lists. In the general heading there is no mention of northern conquests, but only of the south and Khenthannefer, the southern port of the Nile, which gives rise to the idea that no northern con-

quests are here mentioned. None of the great names of the north are found, although some appear probably to be intended; but all that can be read of the earlier names, are well-known tribes of the south. Many of the names rather resemble those found in the registers of substances. And after the first division, whether they are names of tribes or substances appears to me a matter of great doubt. It is hardly possible to identify these lists, the immense interval of time which elapsed between their formation and the earliest authors of classical antiquity, the probable change of the names of the Nigritic tribes during that interval, and the corrupt state of the text of Pliny and Ptolemy augmenting the difficulties of the task.[32]

[32] Since reading the above, a translation and comment on the newly-discovered fragment has been published by M. de Rougé, 'Revue Archéologique,' Juillet, 1860. The reader will see how nearly our ideas on this text correspond, although we differ in some details. The additional observations requisite have consequently been added to the text of the paper.

## III.—ON HAVELOK THE DANE.

BY R. G. LATHAM, M.D., ETC.

(Read June 6th, 1860.)

Ever since its publication, under the editorship of Sir Frederic Madden, by the Roxburghe Club, the poem entitled Havelok the Dane has commanded the attention of critics of more than one sort. It has been quoted largely by the investigators of our local dialects: and that as a poem containing a remarkable amount of Danish elements. It has been quoted by the investigators of our local legends; by the historians of fiction; and by the more minute students of our early literature in general. Little, however—though the work has been reprinted—has been added to the numerous and elaborate details of the able introduction by which it is preceded; and, it is probable, that as far as the facts more immediately bearing upon the elucidation of the text are concerned, there is little to be added. This means that, on the ground explored by Sir Frederic Madden, the present writer has found little or nothing new. He thinks, however, that beyond the field of that critic's investigation, a few facts of interest are to be dis-

covered. He thinks that a remark of Sir Frederic's, to the effect that, although the poem, as it stands at present, is to be found in no form earlier than that of its Old English and its Anglo-Norman versions, it may, at an earlier period, have, in some shape or other, formed a portion of the literature of the Anglo-Saxons. Now, the earlier history of the fiction of Havelok is the object of this paper.

With this statement as a preliminary, we may direct our attention towards the most prominent poem of the Anglo-Saxon era—the so-called epic of Beowulf.

The poem of Beowulf, like that of Havelok, leaves little to the investigator who limits himself to the field of his predecessors. The epoch, however, with which the commentator upon Beowulf ends, is earlier by some centuries than that with which the commentator on Havelok begins. Let us follow, however, the one poem downwards, the other upwards, and ask whether there is any connection between them. Can any part of Beowulf be traced downwards till the time of the Anglo-Norman and Old English literature? Can any part of Havelok be traced upwards into the days of the Anglo-Saxons? To both these questions the present writer answers, Yes.

The hero of Havelok is *Havelok* himself—hero and protagonist. One of the heroes of Beowulf—one of the heroes but scarcely a protagonist—is *Higelac*. Word for word, I believe that Havelok and Higelac are the same. In the way of letter-changes there is no difficulty. The *v* of the Danes is, in many cases, the *g* of the Swedes; so that it is as easy for *Havelok* to be *Higelac*, as for the Danish *tyve* to be the Swedish

*tjugu* = *twenty*. More, however, will appear on this point as we proceed. The little that is given now is merely to show a presumption.

If it were allowed for us to stop here, we might treat this identification as a postulate, and, arguing onwards, show the amount of consequences that proceed from it. But it is scarcely legitimate to do this. It is premature to do it, because, in all matters of this kind, the method by which we arrive at our results is much more important than the results themselves. Hence, some evidence should be brought forward. Now, this evidence is essentially of the kind called cumulative, *i. e.* it consists in the putting together of a series of small facts, each of which is in itself trivial, but which, when combined with the remainder, constitutes a series of phenomena too closely allied to be referable to accident. A result, however, of this kind is not necessarily satisfactory; at any rate, is not conclusive. Such, however, as it is, it will be given.

The order in which our facts are arranged now comes under notice. The purely historical method would begin with the poem Beowulf, or (if such could be found) anything of higher antiquity, and (so beginning) would proceed from the older to the newer, until we arrived at the newest, known forms of the legend. But a great portion of the interval is other than historical. The date of Beowulf itself is uncertain, and the time between *Beowulf* and *Havelok* is obscure. This throws us upon a different starting-point, and induces us to work palæontologically, or after the manner of geologists; *i. e.* to begin with the latest form of the story, and to proceed from the new to the old, from the clear to the obscure, from the known to the unknown. This,

the palæontological method, is the true method for the archæologist of the history of fiction.

The method, however, of the present paper will be mixed. It will take the two extremes together, and work-in the details of the interval.

It will begin with the narrative in its latest form. This, for all practical purposes, is found in the local legends appertaining to the borough of Grimsby, and in the poem entitled Argentile and Curan. In the present town of Grimsby there is a Havelok Street, and a Havelok Stone; there is the belief, active or otiose, as the case may be, that Havelok was picked up on the sea, by Grim the fisherman; that Grim the fisherman founded the town; that Havelok got it certain commercial privileges in Denmark; and, *inter alia*, that Grim's remains lie buried in the parish church, with a monument over them.

I cannot bring myself to call this a tradition. At the same time it is not easy to hit upon its right designation. It simulates a tradition without being one. For a full and perfect tradition the absence of all concurrent records (records meaning written narratives) is a necessary condition. Now the tale of Havelok has been embodied in more than one composition, and in more than one language, for upwards of seven hundred years at the very least. There has been the poem, and there has been the manuscript of it, both, perhaps, obscure and but little known. Still they have existed, and that concurrently with the tale as it ran in the mouths and minds of the unlearned of North Lincolnshire. If the oral tradition failed, there was the written record to replace it. It is true that it was, for the most part, unexamined. Every refer-

ence, however, no matter how cursory, imparted a renewed life to the common version; and it cannot be doubted that, at one time, the number of individuals who, either directly or indirectly, knew the story as a literary composition, was a large one. So far, indeed, as it was known beyond the precincts of Grimsby, and so far as it was other than a purely local myth, it must have been known through the written record. It is unsafe, then, to treat the Grimsby story as either the spontaneous growth of the locality, or as a measure of the reminiscence of the people. There is nothing to show that it is either one or the other. Without the concurrent written record (supposing it to have originated in a fact) it might just have outlived the generation which witnessed it. On the other hand, it might, in its origin, have been no fact at all,—or, if a fact, an exotic. Not being able, then, to recognize the Grimsby story about Grim and Havelok as a proper tradition, and bearing in mind the extent to which written accounts act upon narratives of this kind, I have called it a *legend, i. e.* a thing that may *be read about.* The word has a thorough etymological meaning. It has also a definite technical import. It is meant to be a slight contribution towards the development of a nomenclature for what we may call the Philosophy of the history of Fiction; in which real traditions are very rare. *Without* a document, whether true or false, they can never be either verified or confuted. *With* the legend, however, they are not pure and simple traditions. In one case, and in one case only, can they be valid. This is when the attesting legend, and the current tradition, are absolutely independent of one another.

One thing, however, connected with the special case before us is certain, viz. the belief of the people of Grimsby in the story respecting the foundation of their town. This is not the first occasion upon which the present writer has expressed his disapproval of the current tale. He has done so before—*in situ* (so to say), or at Grimsby itself. The audience was intelligent; but by no means inclined to stand criticism. To impugn the story of Havelok in its presence was something like impugning the character of Mary, Queen of the Scots, at Edinburgh. The week after the opinion was expressed, the county paper contained a warm defence of the historical rights of the borough, strongly tinctured with the *argumentum à civitate*, implying readiness to defend them against all comers, and—*pace dixerim*—against all arguments. Give us back our *eponymus*, was the feeling to the Aristarchi of Grimsby. The belief in a tradition is one thing; the fact of its being a tradition is another; its truth a third. The first and last are not unfrequently in the inverse ratio to one another.

Tradition, however, or legend, the Grimsby version of the tale of Grim and Havelok at Grimsby, has, like most stories of the same kind, a decided *inferential* element: this means that it has parts which have originated out of the explanation of some real fact. Upon the antiquity of Havelok Street I am not prepared to pronounce an opinion. The name *Grimsby* may, possibly, be derived from that of the fisherman so called; in which case we have no inference, but a fact. The commercial privileges, however, by which the merchants of Grimsby were put by the Danes in the position of a favoured body of traders, are said to have

been real; in which case, though wholly unconnected with any *real* Havelok, they may easily have produced a hypothetical one, through the existence and acts of whom they originated. In respect to the monument two things are certain,—the first, that there *is* one in the parish church; the second, that it is *not* Grim's. It is treated, however, as if it were; an unreal occupant being attached to it; an unreal, or hypothetical, Grim; a Grim who instead of owning the tomb has grown out of it; a Grim who is good illustration of the point now before us, viz. the inferential element in certain so-called traditions. Upon the same principle the eagle (as I have been told) in the church of Leighton Buzzard (Beaudesert), which serves as a lectern, is stated to be the buzzard from which the town took its name.

"And it will not be amisse, to say something concerning y^e^ Common tradition of her first founder Grime, as y^e^ inhabitants (with a Catholique faith) name him. The tradition is thus. Grime (say they) a poore Fisherman (as he was launching into y^e^ River for fish in his little boate upon the Humber) espyed not far from him another little boate empty (as he might conceave) which by y^e^ fauour of y^e^ wynde and tyde, still approached nearer and nearer unto him. He betakes him to his oares, and meets itt, wherein he founde onely a Childe wrapt in swathing clothes, purposely exposed (as it should seeme) to y^e^ pittyless [rage] of y^e^ wilde and wide Ocean. He Moued with pitty, takes itt home, and like a good foster-father carefully nourisht itt, and endeavoured to nourishe it in his owne occupation: but y^e^ childe contrarily was wholy deuoted to exercises of actiuity, and when he began to write man, to martiall sports, and at length by his signall valour obteyned such renowne, y^t^ he marryed y^e^ King of England's daughter, and last of all founde who was his

true Father, and that he was Sonne to y^e^ King of Denmark and for y^e^ comicke close of all; that Haueloke (for such was his name) exceedingly aduanced and enriched his foster-father Grime, who thus enriched, builded a fayre Towne neare the place where Hauelocke was founde, and named it Grimsby. Thus say some: others differ a little in y^e^ circumstances, as namely, that Grime was not a Fisherman but a Merchant, and that Hauelocke should be preferred to y^e^ King's Kitchen, and there liue a longe tyme as a Scullion: but, however y^e^ circumstances differ, they all agree in y^e^ consequence, as concerning y^e^ Towne's foundation, to which (sayth y^e^ story) Haueloke y^e^ Danish prince, afterward graunted many immunityes. This is y^e^ famous Tradition concerning Grimsby w^ch^ learned Mr. Camden give so little credit to, that he thinkes it onely illis dignissima, qui anilibus fabulis noctem solent protendere.

"First, y^e^ etimology of y^e^ word (Grimsby) will carry a probability, y^e^ termination by signifying in y^e^ Danish tongue habitatio, a dwelling, so as I know noe reason, why Grimsby should not import y^e^ dwelling of Grime, and receaue this denomination from him, as well as Ormes-by from Orme, and Ketels-by from Ketell, two Danish captaines under Canute, in the dayes of King Ethelred, which Capt. Henry Skipwith affirmed unto me, and that he could prove itt, not onely out of y^e^ legend of Nun-Ormesby but from other good and unquestionable Records. Secondly that there was such a Prince as Hauelocke, take old Robert of Gloucester for proofe, who speakes him y^e^ sonne of Gunter, or Gurthrum, Gutron, or Gurmond (for all those foure names I fynde given him), Kinge of Denmarke

"'That Gunter, that fader was, etc.'

Thirdly, that Hauelocke did sometymes reside at Grimsby, may be gathered from a great blew Boundary-stone, lying at y^e^ East ende of Briggowgate, which retaines y^e^ name of Hauelock's-Stone to this day. Agayne y^e^ great priviledges and immunities, that this Towne hath in Denmarke above any other in England, (as freedome from Toll, and the rest,)

may fairely induce a Beleife, that some preceding favour, or good turne called on this remuneration. But lastly (which proofe I take to be instar omnium) the Common Seale of y^e^ Towne, and that a most ancient one."

The loves of Argentile and Curan form one of the narratives of Warner's long poem, entitled Albion's England, and they give us the best known sample of the author's poetry. The metre—the ordinary ballad stanza of four lines—runs freely and easily, and the language, though it occasionally surprises us with a new word, is anything but archaic. The habits of a neatherd and a neatress (the term is Warner's) are represented with great homeliness, not to say occasional coarseness. At the same time, the poem has found its way into more than one collection, and is known to numerous readers. It tells us how Adelbright and Edil, two brothers, were joint rulers over either the whole or a part of England; how Adelbright died first, leaving behind him a single fair daughter named Argentile, with the usual requests to his surviving brother and partner of the crown; how Edil is wicked after the fashion of uncles, and keeps Argentile in sad seclusion, so that the chance of marriage and offspring is out of the question. Curan, however, of Danish blood, and the son of the King of Kirkland, sees, loves, and, for the simple sake of enjoying the propinquity of the beautiful Argentile, attaches himself to Ethil's household as a kitchen-drudge or scullion. As a kitchen-drudge or scullion he confesses his love to Argentile, which the lady declines, but which her wicked uncle would encourage, as it favours his plans for degrading Argentile,—of course in appearance only,—the real lover being the heir to a crown. After a while

however, both leave the court, Curan to keep herds, Argentile to be a rustic damsel in his neighbourhood. Of course, their love is renewed; the mutual love of two peasants. The poem winds up with the discovery of the rank on both sides, and the downfall of the tyrant Edil.

Here we have the romantic element at its *maximum*, the historical at its *minimum*. There is nothing about Grim or Grimsby; nothing about Havelok; nothing to imply that Curan is Havelok under another name; nothing, in short, to tell us why the poem has been placed in the present inquiry at all. The doubts upon this point, however, will soon be removed. Meanwhile we may remark that the Danish origin of the hero is prominently put forward, the particular domain over which his father ruled being called Kirkland—a likely name for a parish, but a strange one for a kingdom.

"At Kirkland is my father's court,
And Curan is my name,
In Edil's court sometime in pomp,
Till Love controlled the same."

Bearing in mind what I know concerning the extraordinary transfigurations undergone by fictions, I would not say that *Kirkeland* was not *Greece, i. e., Grekaland.*

Curan died King of Northumberland, one of the pre-eminently Danish parts of England.

"Not England (for of Hengest then
Was named so the land)
Than Curan had a hardier knight;
His force could none withstand.
Whose sheephook laid apart, he then
Had higher things in hand.

"First making known his lawful claim
In Argentile her right,
He warred in Deria, and he won
Bernicia, too, in fight.

"And so from treacherous Edil took
At once his life and crowne,
And of Northumberland was king,
Long reigning in renowne."

That Goldsmith knew, either directly or indirectly, the tale of Argentile and Curan is probable. If he did, we may bear in mind the double disguise, and hold it likely that in his Edwin and Angelina,

"Whose father lived beside the *Tyne*,"

we have the last faint echo of Argentile and Curan.

We are now at one extremity of our real or supposed cycle. On the other stands Beowulf. Writers with whom I am unwilling to differ have given it a high antiquity. The passages that allude to Christianity are few, and, perhaps, interpolated. It contains no allusions to England; a negative fact, explained by the doctrine that it is not only referable to the Angles of Germany rather than England, but referable to that early part of their history which preceded the conquest of Britain. On the other hand, Hengest is one of its heroes.

Whether old or young, however, the poem of Beowulf is, at any rate, Anglo-Saxon rather than Old English or Anglo-Norman, and, as such, the oldest of the compositions that come under our present examination. For the present it is enough to say what it does *not* contain. It contains no story of any disguised lover at all; indeed, it contains a minimum amount

of love of any kind. It contains no such name as Curan at all. It contains no names like Kirkland or Adelbright. It contains no name nearer to *Edil* than *Hrethel;* and no name nearer to *Argentile* than *Ongeontheow*, that being a word of the masculine gender, and the name of a King of Sweden; *Argentile* being, as has been already stated, the name of a lovely lady.

Assuredly, there are no great elements of identity here. What there is, if anything, promises but little. Should Argentile and Curan have been developed out of Beowulf, the historian of the transmutation must look up his commonplaces. And they will not be far off. They will give the tralatitious illustration of the Delphic ship, with its old wood replaced by new timbers; of Sir John Cutler's silk stockings darned with worsted until the silk had become non-existent; of the Highlander's knife, with its two new blades and three new handles. So things stand at present. *Argentile* and *Curan* are about as like *Beowulf* as the second Eclogue is like the second Æneid. Such the extremes; such the change. How it came about is another question. It is clear that *Havelok* is not *Curan*, nor *Curan Havelok*, word for word. Neither are they the same names in the way that, for instance, *Atrides* is *Agamemnon*, or *Tydides* is *Diomed*. Neither do they seem to be Christian and surnames; though the practice of a Pagan Dane upon his conversion taking a second name from his sponsor was a common one.

For all this the two names represent the same person; however little they may consist of the same letters, and however obscure the connection between them

may be. Upon this point, all doubts are removed by reference to the intermediate compositions, the chief of which have already been alluded to. They are the two poems edited by Sir Frederic Madden, the well-known Havelok the Dane, an English romance, and its fellow (though in many respects different) in Norman French.

The English poem gives the nearest approach to the Grimsby legend. The hero's name is simply Havelok, his preserver being Grim, and his town Grimsby. The heroine, for in a long romance we must expect details that we miss in a short legend, is named Goldborough.

" 'I shal do casten him in the se,
Ther I wile that he drenchen be;
Abouten his hals an anker god,
That he ne flete in the flod.'
Ther anon he dede sende
After a fishere that he wende,
That wolde al his wille do,
And sone anon he seyde him to:
'Grim, thou wost thu art mi thral;
Wiltu don mi wille al,
That I wile bidden the,
To morwen shal I maken the fre,
And aucte the yeuen, and riche make,
With than thu wilt this child take,
And leden him with the to nicht,
Than thou sest the mone lith,
Into the se, and don him ther inne,
Al wile [I] taken on me the sinne.'
Grim tok the child and bond him faste,
Hwil the bondes micte laste,
That weren of ful strong line:—
Tho was Hauelok in ful strong pine.
Als he tirneden of his serk,
On his rith shuldre a Kyne merk,

A swithe brith, a swithe fair:
'Goddoh!' quoth Grim, 'this ure eir
That shal [bin] louerd of Denemark,
He shal ben King strong and stark;
He shal hauen in his hand
A [l] Denemark and Engeland;
He shal do Godard full wo,
He shal him hangen, or quick flo;
Or he shal him al quic graue,
Of him shal he no merci haue.'
Thus seide Grim, and sore gret,
And sone fel him to the fet,
And seide, 'Louerd, haue merci
Of me, and Leue, that is me bi!
Louerd, we aren bothe thine,
Thine cherles, thine hine.
Lowerd, we sholen the wel fede,
Til that thu cone riden on stede,
Til that thu cone ful wel bere
Helm on heued, sheld and spere.
He ne shal neuere wite, sikerlike,
Godard, that fule swike,
Thoru other man, louerd, than thoru the,
Sal I nuere freman be.
Thou shalt me, louerd, fre maken,
For I shal yemon the, and waken
Thoru the wile I fredom haue.'
Tho was Haueloc a blithe knave.
He sat him up, and crauede bred,
And seide, 'Ich am ney dede,
Hwat for hunger, wat for bondes,
That thu leidest on min hondes;
And for keuel at the laste,
That in mi mouth was thrist faste.
I was the with so harde prangled,
That I was the with ney strangled.'
Wel is me that thee mayth hete:
Goddoth!' quath Leue, 'Y shal the fete
Bred an chese, butere and milk,
Pastees and flauncs, al with suilk;

Shole we sone the wel fede,
Louerd, in this mikel nede.
Soth it is, that men seyt and suereth:
Ther God wile helpen, nouth ne dereth."
Grim thoucte to late that he ran
Fro that traytour, tha[t] wicked man;
And thoucte, 'Wat shal me to rede?
Wite he him on liue, he wile bethe
Heye hangen on galwe tre;
Betere us is of londe to fle,
And berwen bothen ure liues,
And mine children, and mine wiues."
Grim solde sone al his corn,
Shep wit wolle, neth wit horn,
Hors, and swin wit herd,
The gees, the hennes of the yerd;
Al he sold, that outh douthe,
That he eure selle moucte,
And al he to the peni drou:
Hise ship he greythede wel inow,
He dede it tere, an ful wel pike,
That it ne doutede sond ne krike;
Ther inne dide a ful god mast,
Stronge kables, and ful fast,
Ores god, an ful god seyl,
Ther inne wantede nouth a nayl,
That euere he sholde ther inne do:
Hwan he haue det greythed so,
Hauelok the yunge he dide ther inne,
Him and his wif, hise sones thrinne,
And hise two doutres, that faire wore,
And sone dede he leyn in an ore,
And drou him to the heye se,
There he mith alther-best fie.
Fro londe woren he bote a mile,
Ne were neuere but ane hwile,
That it ne bigan a wind to rise.
Out of the north, men calleth Bise,
And drof hem intil Engeland.
That al was sithen in his hond,

His that Hauelok was the name;
But or he hauede michel shame,
Michel sorwe, and michel tene,
And thrie, he gat it al bidene;
Als ye shulen nou forthwar here,
Yf that ye wilen ther to here.
In Humber Grim began to lende,
In Lindeseye, rith at the north ende.
Ther sat is ship up in the sond,
But Grim it drou up to the lend;
And there he made a litel cote,
To him and to hise flote.
Bigan he there for to erthe,
A litel hus to maken of erthe,
So that he wel there were
Of here herboru herborowed there;
And for that Grim that place aute,
The stede of Grim the name laute:
So that Grimesby calleth alle
That ther offe speken alle,
And so shulen men callen it ay,
Bituene this and domesday."

The *French* poem is partly an approximation to the Grimsby legend, and partly an approximation to the poem Argentile and Curan: and it is this double character that gives its interest and value. It is the French poem, through which the connection between the two, which has hitherto been no connection at all, is effected. The name of the heroine is Argentile; not Goldborough. That these words differ is clear; but may they not differ simply as the two precious metals, as Argentilla, the Silvery, from Chryseis, the Golden? I suggest this without laying much stress on it. The fact upon which stress *is* to be laid is the name of the hero. It is *Havelok:* but not *Havelok* pure and simple. It is Havelok *Cuaran.*

" Uolenters deueroit l'om oir,
Et reconter & retenir.
Les nobles fez as anciens.
Et les prouesces & les biens.
Essamples prendre & remembrer.
Pur les francs homes amender
Vilainies & mesprisions.
Ces deuereit estre li sermons.
Dont l'om se deust chastier.
Car mult i-ad mauweis mestu,
Chescuns se garde come pur soi.
L'auenture d'un riche roi.
Et de plusurs autres barons
Dout ieo vus nomerai les nons
Assez briefment le vus derrai.
L'auenture vus conterai.
*Haueloc* fut cil roi nomé
Et *Cuaran* est appellé,
Pur ceo vus voil de lui conter.
Et s'auenture remembrer.
Qe vn lai en firent li Breton.
Si l'appellerent de son non
Et *Haueloc* & *Cuarant*
De son piere derrai auant
*Gunter* out non si fut *Danois.*
La terre tint, si estoit rois.
En icel tens qe *Arthur* regna.
Vers Danemarche mer passa."
A icel tens qe içe vus di
Vn Roi q'est nome *Alsi*
Tenoit en la terre en sa baillie
*Nicole,* & tote *Lindsie,*
Cele partie vers le north
Et *Rotelande* & *Stanford.*
Out cil Alsi en heritage,
Mes il estoit Bret par lignage.
Le roiaume vers les Surois,
Gouernoit vns autres rois
*Ekenbright* out cil rois a non
Mult out en lui noble baron.

Il out la sorour Alsi
Compaignon furent & ami.
*Orewen* vne dame vaillant.
Mes entre eus n'eurent enfant.
Mes qe vue fille bele.
*Argentille* out non la pucele.
Rois Ekenbright fut enfermez.
La terre vont souz mettre a soi,
Et le treu auer del Roi.
Au roi Gunter se combati,
Et as Danois sis venqui,
Li rois meismes i-fut occis
Et plusurs autres del pais.
*Hodulf* l'occist par traison,
Qui touz iors out le queu felon."

That either the French or the English poems are no older than the reign of Henry II., and, probably, not so old, is what we expect. This, however, refers to their form only. Their matter may be of much higher antiquity. Is it so? The rule that nothing is older than its newest part has an absolute application only when a work is the product of a single author, and has kept its original form. In cases, however, where there has been a successive accretion of matter, or where subsequent additions are likely, it must not be taken too strictly; though, upon the whole, it is a sound one. In the French poem we find a name which makes even the matter of the work, to some degree at least, recent. The Danish king of whom Havelok Cuaran is the son is named *Birkbeyn*. But this is no true proper-name; neither is it Danish so much as Norwegian. It is, however, a truly historical term, the period of the Birkebeins being a well-marked period in Norwegian politics. It was the name of a faction, which, upon a doubtful title, raised one of

their leaders, Swerrer, to the throne. It was the name of a rude sort of Prætorians who, for nearly ninety years, exercised a great and bad influence over the affairs of Norway. Their opponents were the Baglers, and where Snorro's history ends, the quarrels between these two factions begin. Mr. Laing remarks that towards the end of their career they came to represent the Church and the State respectively; the Birkebeiners being the partisans of the latter. It was to King Swerrer and his dynasty that they were more especially attached. Now, the earliest notice of them is in the reign of Magnus Erlingsson, a contemporary of Henry II., their first appearance being A.D. 1173.

"There was a man called Eystein, who gave himself out for a son of King Eystein Haraldsson. He was at this time young and not full grown. It is told of him, that he one summer appeared in Sweden, and went to Earl Birgar Brose, who was then married to Eystein's aunt, a daughter of King Harald Gille. Eystein explained his business to them, and asked their assistance. Both Earl Birgar and his wife listened to him in a friendly way, and promised him their confidence, and he stayed with them awhile. Earl Birgar gave him some assistance of men, and a good sum for travelling expenses, and both promised him their friendship on his taking leave. Thereafter Eystein proceeded north into Norway, and when he came down to Viken, people flocked to him in crowds; and Eystein was then proclaimed king, and he remained in Viken in winter. As they were very poor in money, they robbed all around, wherefore the lendermen and bonders raised men against them; and being thus overpowered by numbers, they fled away to the forests and deserted hill grounds, where they lived for a long time. Their clothes being worn out, they wound the bark of the birch-tree about their legs, and thus were called by the bonders *Birkebeiners*.

"They often rushed down upon the settled districts,

pushed on here or there, and made an assault where they did not find many people to oppose them. They had several battles with the bonders with various success, and the Birkebeiners held three battles in regular array, and gained the victory in them all. At Krogskoven they had nearly made an unlucky expedition, for a great number of bonders and men-at-arms were there assembled against them; but the Birkebeiners felled brushwood across the roads, and retired into the forest. They were two years in Viken before they showed themselves in the northern parts of the country.

"Magnus had been king for thirteen years when the Birkebeiners first made their appearance. They got themselves ships in the third summer, with which they sailed along the coast gathering goods and men. They were first in Viken, but when summer advanced they proceeded northwards, and so rapidly that no news preceded them until they came to Drontheim. The Birkebeiners' troop consisted principally of hillmen and river borderers, and many were from Thelemark, and were all well armed. Their king, Eystein, was a handsome man, with a little but good countenance; and he was not of great stature, for his men called him Eystein the Small. King Magnus and Earl Erling were in Bergen when the Birkebeiners sailed past it to the north, but they did not hear them."

So much, then, for the date of the French poem; so important in our inquiries, inasmuch as it places beyond either doubt or shadow of doubt, the strange and mysterious identification of Curan and Havelok. How came it? Was there any real or fictitious Cuaran, some of whose actions or attributes might be confounded with those of a Havelok? Was there any other Havelok? Was there any one with a name like Havelok? There certainly was something of this kind. There was, at least, one hero with a name like Cuaran; and he was a Dane. There was another hero,

named Anlaf; and *he* was a Dane. Thirdly, there was a Dane whom the Angles called Anlaf Cwiran. That Cwiran may be Cuaran is plain; but how can Anlaf be Havelok? The difficulty lies with the change between the *n* and *v* (or *u*). In the omission of the initial aspirate, and the substitution of *f* for *k*, there is but little to give trouble. The change, however, *n* to *v* is serious. Nevertheless, it is real.

"This connection of the story of Havelok, and the claim of the Danes, through him, to England, with the legend of Guy of Warwick, is curious, and enables us to form another link in the chain of Dano-Saxon traditions. The legend itself may be found in Robert of Brunne; in the 'Petit Bruit,' referred to above; in the rhimes of Girardus Cornubiensis (said by Tanner to be extracted from Gerald Cambrensis, c. xi. Hist. Reg. West. Sax.), printed by Hearne, ad calc. Annal. Dunst. No. xi., and translated by Lydgate; in the Chronicles of Knyghton, Rudburn, Fabyan, and Hardyng; in the Liber de Hida, MSS. Sloane, 717, and in 'feffoit Hauelok sez quatre fitz: si gist a priore de Grescherche en Loundrez' (f. 6 b.); Dugdale's 'History of Warwickshire,' p. 374. In all these authors the Kings of Denmark and Norway, who are said to have brought over Colbrand, are named* A*n*ela*ph*us and Co*n*ela*ph*us; but in the old metrical romance of Guy of Warwick, printed by W. Copland, before 1567, Coll. Garrick, K. 9 (which Warton, vol. i. p. 91, conjectures to have been written by Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan friar of Carocus, in Cornwall, about 1292), the names are corrupted as follows:—

"'But or Guy went that man him tolde,
That the King was in cases colde,
The King of Denmarke, Hanelo*cke*,
And the King of Norway, Conelo*cke*,

* The italics are the present writer's. They show the letter-changes by which the transformation under notice is effected.

Both he come into this lande,
With doughty knightes a thousande.'—Sign. Hh. iii .6.

"And below:—

"'And King Athelstone swore than,
If Colbrand overcame his man,
He and all his lynage,
Should doe King Henelock homage.'—Sign. li. 1.

"In a MS. English Chronicle, Harl. 63, which we shall again have occasion to refer to, the Danish king who brought over Colbrand, A.D. 927, is called Gaufride (the Guthfrith of the Saxon Chronicle). 'And Athelstone lay at Wychestre, and the King of Denmarke sent ynto hym an harowde of Armes to witte, wheder he wold fynde a man to fighte w^t^ Colbrande for the righ[t]e of the Kyngdom of Northumbr, that the Daynes had claymed byfore by the title of Kyng Haueloke, that wedded Goldesburghe, the Kynge's daughter of Northumbr' (f. 19)."

In speaking of those who may feel disposed to identify Havelok and Anlaf, Sir Frederic Madden abstains from saying what his own disposition may be. By supplying, however, the very relevant facts with which he accompanies his suggestion, he seems, in the mind of the present writer, to have established an identity of *some kind*; or, if the term *identity* be exceptionable, a confusion which looks like one. He also points out the bearings of the name Anlaf Cwiran, who, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 949, ravaged Northumberland—Northumberland, which the MS. Chronicle of the foregoing extract particularly connects with the name of *Hanelok*.

In explanation of the confusion, I think that one (perhaps, both) of the letter-changes in question is due to an error of transcription, or a clerical error —by which I mean that the change is one of writing

rather than of language. I also think that when the names *Anlaf* (*Anelaphus*) and *Havelok* came together in one narrative the confusion took place—confusion which was heightened by the fact of Anlaf being also Anlaf *Cwiran*, *Cuaran*, or *Curan*—confusion which went further when *Havelok* became, as in the French poem, *Havelok Cuaran*—confusion which attained its *maximum* when the lover of Argentile became, simply, *Curan*.

However, although this is my opinion, I do not profess to see my way to the exact details of the change. I am only satisfied that it is out of some change or other, between Anlaf Cwiran and Havelok, that what we may call the *Curan* element of the story, has originated. As far as the name goes, it is an excrescence; prominent in the French poem and in the ballad of Warner, but foreign to the English romance as well as to the Grimsby legends. As a name, however, it is eminently suggestive; so much so that the limits of the present paper are far too short to allow us to follow-up its history to the fountain. There is, probably, a confusion amongst the Curans—*as such:* I also think that, word for word, the modern Irish name *Curran* is this same *Cwiran*, *Cuaran*, and *Curan*. Upon the Irish names, however, in Scandinavian stories, more may be said on another occasion.

I now leave the name Curan, and pass into the obscure domain peopled by the heroes of Beowulf; in doing which I trace the streams of fiction to a higher level, and possibly approach the springs from which they flow. What has been hitherto suggested has no great pretensions to novelty. Upon the identity of Havelok and Anlaf, Sir Frederic (as we have seen)

abstains from an opinion. That the four accounts, however, of Havelok the Dane in English, of Havelok le Daneis in French, of Argentile and Curan, and of the Grimsby legend are essentially one, is a doctrine which, along with others, the present writer reasonably maintains—perhaps, assumes as a matter of course. This being the case, it behoves us, before we go further, to look back; and that with the special object of taking a measure of the extent to which stories may be changed. Is it too much to say that one may be converted into another? If so, where is the identity? What are the proofs of it? Names go for but little. Has not Goldborough become Argentile, and Havelok Curan, or *vice versâ*? And will the changes stop here? What if men become women, and things persons? We can answer for no man's identity, and for no woman's either. When we get into Fairy-land, we cannot even answer for the sexes. I will not say that Argentile may not have begun her career as a character in fiction, as a King of Sweden. Mr. Kemble, in his notes on Beowulf, has to remark that the *Holinga* which some of his predecessors had made the name of a woman, was "not a lady, but an adverb." In the Art of Pluck, one of the candidates inquires whether "*Protinus* is an adverb or a sea-god." To retail this as would-be wit, is a flippancy; to give it as a sample of the sort of confusion which the comparative mythologist has to deal with, and can often explain, is a necessary preliminary to his investigations.

Before we deal with Beowulf there are several such preliminaries.

In the first place, a given story might go through three or four languages. There was the Anglo-Saxon,

the Danish and Swedish, the British, the Irish, and the Latin. There was occasionally a German, often a French medium.

Though we must remember this, we must not presume on it. It will not prove anything and everything. A special fact connected with it is of far more importance. Most proper names had two forms (at least); one in Anglo-Saxon, the other in Norse, Scandinavian, or Danish. *Anlaf* in Anglo-Saxon, is *Olaf* in Danish; *Gorm* in Danish, is *Gormund* and *Wermund*, etc., in Anglo-Saxon. In Ingulphus we find, "Rex Godrum quem nos Gurmund vocamus." "Gudrun, quem nostri Gurmundum vocant" (William of Malmesbury).

Next, a vast mass of fiction, partly invented, partly developed by confusion, partly inferential, mixes itself with all early history, so-called. The special relations of Beowulf are with the genealogies of the Mercian kings. There was a King Offa, whose kingdom was Mercia, and whose date the eighth century. But there is another Offa, who is no historical personage at all. We shall see that the accounts of these two entities are mixed together. Meanwhile, the least historical of the two is Norse as well as English. Garmund, or Wermund, is the head of the family, the patriarch of the pedigree. He always precedes, and never follows an Offa. In Beowulf he is Offa's uncle; in the Danish and Angle genealogies, his father—also his predecessor on the throne. But this is not the only element of confusion. Offa, the son of Wermund, in one account, is born blind, and remains so until his seventh year; he is also born dumb, and remains so until his thirtieth year. Being, however, roused by the fear of being excluded from the succession at a time when the king of the

Saxons was threatening his father with an invasion, he recovered both speech and sight. So, at least, it stands in Lappenberg; though it is hard to see how the two recoveries could be simultaneous. This is the Anglo-Saxon Offa Wermunding. But the Danish Wermunding is born with the use of his eyes. In compensation, however, he is the son of a blind father, and, in Denmark, it is Wermund who cannot see. Offa, meanwhile, like his Anglo-Saxon equivalent, is dumb.

Offa, in respect to his other connections, is, in Beowulf, the kinsman of one Heming, an unknown, or, at least, an obscure hero. In the Norse genealogies he is succeeded by Dan, the eponymus of Denmark, and one of the most mythic of all mythological personages. The Offa, however, of Beowulf is a brave warrior, and Hrethel, unmentioned in the Norse genealogies, is the father of three sons, Herebald, Hæthcyn, and the important Higelac. He is also, inferentially, the brother of one Swerting; inasmuch as his son Higelac is called Swerting's nephew. We are specially warned by Mr. Kemble, to whom these pedigrees are chiefly due, against confounding Swerting, the uncle of Higelac, with the Swerting who killed King Froda IV.—King Froda IV. being, if not quite so mythic as Dan, nearly so.

Proceeding with the history of the three sons of Hrethel, we find that Herebald is accidentally killed by his brother Hæthcyn, who divides the kingdom between himself and Higelac. Hæthcyn is himself killed in a battle against the Swedes, and Higelac remains sole ruler. He is destined, however, to fall by the hands of the Frisians, and is succeeded by his son Hardred, who falls in a battle against the Swedes, and

is succeeded by Beowulf, the hero of the poem, of the family of Wægmund (and as such a Wægmunding rather than a Wermunding) who is the husband of Higelac's sister, but who dies childless, leaving Wiglaf the son of Wihstan as his successor. I think it highly probable that this Wiglaf is the Wihtlæg of the Mercian genealogies, upon which Mr. Thorpe, in a note to Lappenberg, remarks, that, however much the several pedigrees of the kings of Mercia may vary in regard to other names, they all agree in respect to Wihtlæg, Wermund, and Offa.*

Hrethel, as has been stated, is believed to be, word for word, Edel. Wermund=Garmund=Gorm=Grim (word for word) is so far connected with Grim in his attributes, that he belongs to a Danish as well as to an English story, that story containing, in Beowulf, an *Higelac*, in the Grimsby legends, etc., a *Havelok*. He is not Higelac's father; neither is Grim Havelok's. They both, however, belong to the same tale; and in both Havelok and Beowulf there is the account of an exposure on the sea.

"BEOWULF.

"Lo! we have learned by tradition the majesty of the Gar-Danes, of the mighty Kings in days of yore, how the noble men perfected valour. Oft did Scyld the son of Scéf tear the mead-thrones away from the hosts of his foes, from many tribes; the Earl terrified them, after he first was found an outcast. He therefore abode in comfort, he waxed under the welkin, he flourished with dignities, until each one of the surrounding peoples over the whale's path must obey him, must pay him tribute. That was a good King! To him was

* Translation of Lappenberg's England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, vol. i. p. 228.

afterwards offspring born, young in his dwelling-places, whom God sent to the people for their comfort. He knew the evil need which they before had suffered for a long while, when they were princeless: to him on this account the Lord of life, wielder of glory, gave worldly prosperity, Beowulf was famous; widely spread the glory of Scyld's offspring in the divided lands. So shall a war-prince work with benefits, with prudent gifts of money, while yet in his father's support, that to himself in turn in his old-age, welcome comrades may resort, then, when war may come upon him: supported by his people a man shall flourish in any tribe, with praiseworthy deeds. At his appointed time then Scyld departed, very decrepit, to go into the peace of the Lord; they then his dear comrades bore him out to the shore of the sea, as he himself requested, the while that he, the friend of the Scyldings, the beloved chieftain, had power with his words; long he owned it! Then upon the beach stood the ringed-prowed ship, the vehicle of the noble, shining like ice, and ready to set out. They then laid down the dear prince, the distributer of rings, in the bosom of the ship, the mighty one beside the mast; there was much of treasures, of ornaments, brought from afar. Never heard I of a comelier ship having been adorned with battle weapons and with war weeds, with bills and mailed coats. Upon his bosom lay a multitude of treasures which were to depart afar with him into the possession of the flood. They furnished him not less with offerings, with mighty wealth, than those had done who in the beginning sent him forth in his wretchedness, alone over the waters. Moreover they set up for him a golden ensign, high overhead; they let the deep sea bear him; they gave him to he ocean. Sad was their spirit, mournful their mood. Men know not in sooth to say, (men wise of counsel, or any men under the heavens,) who received the freight."

This gives us three fabulous personages,—Sceaf, Scyld, and Beowulf: so related to each other genealogically, that Beowulf is a Scylding, and Scyld a Scefing.

They are Danes rather than Angles. The difference both in blood and date between Beowulf the Scylding, who is a purely mythic being, with no conditions of either time or place, and Beowulf the Wægmunding, who is both a king and the successor of a king, commands our attention; though not as a primary object. It merely gives us another specimen of confusion. In Sceaf we must look for something else. This name appears not only in the Danish, but in the Lombard legends.

> Sigehere longest
> The Sea-Danes ruled,
> Hnæf the Hocings,
> *Sceaf* the Longobards.
> *Traveller's Song, l.* 64.

Hildeburg, in Beowulf, is a Hocing by birth, a queen of Friesland by marriage. Word for word, *Hocing* is on good grounds believed to be *Chauci:* so that in wedding of Hildeburg by Fin Folcwalding, the king of the Frisians, we have the union of two closely allied populations. Meanwhile, Hnæf, who on good grounds is considered the eponymus of Hanover, is Hildeburg's son. Now the name which next to her husband's and her son's is most especially connected with Hildeburh's, is that of Hengest.

In the notice of the sons of Hrethel it was stated that Hæthcyn had to defend himself against a king of Sweden, that he did so unsuccessfully, that he was killed in battle, and that Higelac succeeded. Now the name of this victorious king of the Swedes was, in Anglo-Saxon, Ongeontheow, in Norse, Angantyr. He is in his turn, killed in a battle against Higelac.

That, word for word, *Higelac* is *Havelok* has already been stated. It may almost be said that the former is

the Swedish form of the latter. It may be added that, in this similarity, we have, if not the main fact which connects the poems on Havelok the Dane with Beowulf, the fact which first raised the presumption in favour of a connection between them. How slight this connection need be has already been shown. Let Beowulf, as a poem, be ever so unlike the tale of Grim, it is still as like to it as the tale of Grim is like the ballad of Argentile and Curan. Nor is this similarity, such as it is, confined to the mere word. The Higelac of Beowulf is of the line of Gormund, or Wermund, in whose history comes the strange account of Sceaf—Sceaf, who agrees with Grim, in being associated with a tale of the sea. Hence, both Havelok and Higelac agree in a vague connection with a man of the sea, and a man named Gormund, Gorm, or Grim. Upon the coincidence between the fenny character of the county of Lincoln and the fact of the chief events of Beowulf having their venue in a fen, I lay little stress: though, at the same time, I am not inclined to overlook it altogether. That, word for word, *Hildeburg* is *Goldborough*, *Hrethel Edil*, and (stranger still) *Ongeontheow* (or *Angaytyr*, as he is in Norse) is *Argentile*, I venture to guess. With this, too, I leave the part of the subject hitherto under notice; repeating that I do not say that these resemblances are close and conclusive. I only express my decided belief, founded not upon *à priori* grounds, but upon a somewhat wide induction from similarly transformed legends, that they are *not* accidental.

As far as the history of a fiction is concerned, our researches are approaching their conclusion. The origin of the greater part of Beowulf is obscure. Yet its

ramifications are numerous. The points where it touches the legends of Grim and Havelok are the ones which, in the present paper, have commanded our chief attention. It has, however, been shown, by the way, that there were other points of contact, leading to the genealogies of the Mercian kings, and the pedigree of Offa. These, however, we pass over, for the present, *sicco pede*. Neither is much said about the extent to which the story of Sceaf is Longobard, or Lombard, as well as Norse and Angle. The question that commands attention is the extent to which the poem is, in any part, historical. Fiction as it is for the most part, it may still have a nucleus of fact. Let us note, then, the name Higelac, and let us remember that the hero who bore it died in a battle against the Friesians. Let us now take the following extract from Gregory of Tours:—

"In illo tempore (A.D. 515) Dani, cum rege suo, nomine *Chochilaico*, cum navale hoste per altum mare, Gallias appetunt, Theuderici, pagum Attuarios, vel alios, devastantes atque captivantes, plenas naves de captivis habentes, alto mare intrantes, rex illorum ad litus maris resedit" (Greg. Turon. c. 19).

The district upon which Chochilaichus descended belonged to one of more obscure divisions of the German name; and one of which the brief history deserves a passing notice. It was the district of the *Chattuarii*. Tacitus gives us no such name; the doctrine that the term is, word for word, Chasuarii, being exceptionable. *Attuarii*, however, is found in Velleius Paterculus, and *Χαττουάριοι* in Strabo, whose notice, unfortunately, begins and ends with the name. Not so, however, that of Paterculus, which tells us that soon after Tibe-

rius had entered Germany, he subdued the Caninifates, the *Attuarii*, and the Bructeri,—the Canifates in the province of Holland, the Bructeri between the Ruhr and Lippe, the Attuarii not far off, and in a locality which, becoming clearer as we proceed, ends in being the district about Geizefurt on the Niers,—"Memorato Ansfrido, in pago *Hattuariensi* et in villâ quæ vocatur Geizefurt, supra fluvium Nerse" (Cod. Lauresheim. n. 25). Also, "Quod trado res proprietates meæ in pago *Hattuaria*, in Odeheimero *Marca*, in villâ quæ dicitur Geizefurt, quæ sita est supra fluvium Nersa,"* (ibid. n. 33). It was a frontier—and *March*,—a March on the confines of Saxony; the Saxons being always in a state of chronic hostility to the Franks. "Saxones vastaverunt terram *Chattuariorum*" (Annal. S. Amandi),—"terram *Hatuariorum*" (Annal. Tilian.),—"terram *Hazzoariorum*" (Ann. Fuldenses), "terra *Hattuariorum* à Saxonibus depopulata est" (Gesta Abbatûs Fantanellenensis). Now, as were the Saxons, so were the Danes—the Saxons on the land, the Danes on the sea. The Danish attacks, however, give us the fact that has the most bearing upon the present researches. A contemporary writer of a not very distant locality, Gregory of Tours, tells us that a Dane named Chochilaichus, attacked one of the *pagi* of Theodoric the Frank, the father of Theudebert, and was killed in the country of the *Hattuarii*. Now, word for word, *Chattuarii*, *Hattuarii*, *Hazzoarii*, *Attuarii*, and (in a still more modified form) *Hatteri*, is *Hetwære*, just as truly as the Latin *Cantuarii* and *Vectuarii* are the Anglo-Saxon *Cantwære* and *Wihtwære*, *i. e.* inhabitants of Kent and the Isle of Wight

* See Zeuss, *v. Chattuarii* (p. 337).

(*Vecticolæ*) : and *Hetwære* is a form that we find in both the Traveller's Song and Beowulf.

This, then, is our evidence for believing (as has been generally admitted) that, word for word, the Anglo-Saxon Higelac, the Norse Huglekr, Danish Huhlek, is the Latin Chochilaichus, and, also, what is of more importance, that, however fabulous the main part of Higelac's story, as told in Beowulf, may be, his death represents a small nucleus of a real history, as well as the actual descent of Chochiliachus upon a portion of King Theodoric's Empire, as recorded by so good an authority for a contemporary event as Gregory of Tours.

Taking this in its barest form, it gives us an earlier date than is usually admitted for the Norse invasions of the parts south of Scandinavia. A Norse descent upon the coasts of *Holland* it gives us ; even if it gives us nothing else. But it may be added that it makes similar descents upon *Britain* probable. For these what spots likelier than the parts about the Humber? But, word for word, *Chochilaicus* is allowed to be *Higelac*. Let *Higelac=Havelok*, and the probability of an early Norse invasion is increased. Let there be some relation between Havelok and *Gorm=Grim ;* and let there be some relation between *Gorm* and *Grimsby —Gorm's Town*. I do not say the one must be exactly that of father and son, nor yet that the latter be that between the founder and the town founded. I only say that *some* relations are likely.

If so, there may be, after all, some nucleus of truth in the Grimsby fictions. I have neither denied nor doubted this. What I have impugned are the details. What I have opposed is the doctrine that the so-called

tradition is a tradition pure and simple, a tradition unmodified by inference, and unsustained by legend.

If so, Grimsby is an older town than its legend makes it.

Was Grimsby its only name? Probably not. It was a Danish town on English ground: the Danish and English languages being two. But it was not an English name. No Englishman called Gorm, *Gorm*. No Englishman called a town a *by*. The Danes did this: the English did not. The English called Gorm, Gormund, or something like it. The English called a *by* a *town*. Hence, I think it probable that the place had two names; *Grimsby* in Danish, *Gormanstún* or *Gormansted* in Anglo-Saxon.

This is so purely conjectural that it is likely that it will never be either proved or disproved. On the other hand, it is a probability which should be borne in mind. With two of our towns ending in *by*; the fact that, besides their Danish, they had an English name also, is known from testimony. Whitby was *Streones-halch*; Derby was *North Weorthig* in Anglo-Saxon. This (as what has just been stated) we know from testimony. But if the testimony, which occurs, in both cases, as an *obiter dictum*, had been wanting?

And here the chief question comes to a close: the question as to how far *Havelok* the Dane was *Higelac*: and, if he were, in what sense. They both seem to have come out of *Chochilaicus*; Chochilaicus being an historical person of the seventh century. If so, the history of the name has been traced as far upwards as is possible. But Chochilaicus, even as Higelac, is transformed into something very different from the enemy of Theodoric; whilst Higelac himself is but a

small part of Beowulf. Of Beowulf a small portion only enters into Havelok the Dane; overlaid with much extraneous matter; and of Havelok the Dane, a remnant goes to Argentile and Curan. There is a large amount of transformation here. It is, however, only a fraction of what must be investigated when we take a fiction with *all* its points of contact. Have we not, even in the previous sketch, been obliged to take cognizance of the pedigree of the Kings of Mercia, as connected with the name Gormund, Gorm, or Grim; and might not almost every other name in any of the poems under notice have led us in other directions, to new affinities? It might: so numerous are the ramifications of fiction, and so obscure their transformations. Even the possible details connected with the name Havelok are far from exhausted.

## IV.—SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES ON ST. GEORGE THE MARTYR, AND ON GEORGE THE ARIAN BISHOP.

BY JOHN HOGG, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S., HON. FOR. SEC. R.S.L., ETC.

(Read November 21st, 1860.)

HAVING in a former memoir proved, from an ancient Greek inscription still extant upon a church at Ezra, the former Zorava, in the south of Syria, that George the *Martyr* and George the Arian *Bishop* of Alexandria were *not*, as Gibbon and most writers after him have asserted, *identical*, I now resume the subject.

Two or three learned antiquaries of the two last centuries, doubting their identity, were desirous of establishing for the gallant and patron saint of England a fairer fame, and of assigning to him a title for purity, integrity, and valour, such as became a defender of the cross and a "soldier of Christ;" but they certainly failed in having actually discovered any *positive* evidence of their *non-identity*. Of these the most distinguished was the Rev. Dr. Peter Heylyn, a prebendary of Westminster, who wrote a well-known book, entitled 'The Historie of that most famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia.' It passed through two editions; and the second, bear-

ing the date of 1633, which alone I have seen, is dedicated to no less a personage than "the most high and mighty Prince Charles (I.), King of Great Britain." Also another learned writer, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Pegge, read in 1777 to the Society of Antiquaries of London,—whose anniversary is held on St. George's day, and whose coat-of-arms is St. George's Grecian "bloodie crosse" upon a white field,—an able paper to that Society, in which he combated Dr. Pettingal's supposition that the "George of England" was entirely of an *allegorical* nature; and also Mr. Byrom's notion, that St. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, and not St. George, was the real patron saint of the English. Indeed, Dr. John Pettingal, in a work also dedicated to the then King of Great Britain (George II.), in the year 1753, says, "Whether our St. George was the Arian, or whether he was a real person or not, is a matter *not settled* among the learned."[1]

But against this latter supposition Dr. S. Pegge has correctly written, "We may depend upon it, that though at this distance of time we can recover so few particulars of St. George's story, and can arrive at so little certainty about the circumstances of it, yet the adventurers in the Crusades undoubtedly regarded him as a *real person*, a most glorious and illustrious martyr. They found his name in the calendars; they met with various places denominated from him; they frequented his tomb; they heard him invoked, and heard much of his apparitions; they saw churches and monasteries dedicated to him, and even received, as they thought, seasonable and special assistance from heaven, through

[1] Dissertation on the Original of the Equestrian Figure of St. George, and of the Garter, p. 35.

his mediation; and lastly, they mentioned his reliques."[2]

Since several circumstances, in particular the want of time, prevented me from completing my former account of St. George in so full a manner as I had intended; I therefore purpose to supply, in the present paper, some of the earliest notices respecting these two Georges, who have been so frequently confounded, and in fact so often identified.

First, as regards St. *George the Martyr*.

The first accurate account—after that already given (p. 311, Vol. VI. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.) from Eusebius, where, as I have suggested, "Gorgonius" may be an error for "Georgius"[3]—which I can find of him, is in the 'Chronicon Paschale;'[4] it is as follows:—

σξς' 'ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΣ.

Ὑπ. Καρίνου τὸ β', καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ.

Ἔτους σνέ τῆς εἰς Οὐρανοὺς Ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐγένετο διωγμὸς Χριστιανῶν, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐμαρτύρησαν· ἐν οἷς ἐμαρτύρησε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος.

Translated it reads thus:—

"266 Olympiad.

"*Consuls*, Carinus for the second time, and Numerianus.

"In the year 255 of the Ascension of Our Lord into Heaven, a persecution of the Christians took place, and many suffered martyrdom; among whom also the *Holy George* was *martyred*."

[2] Archæologia, vol. v. p. 5.

[3] The extract from Cedrenus, given at p. 6 *infra*, seems to confirm this suggestion.

[4] 'Chronicon Paschale,' edit. Du Cange; Hist. Byzant. Script. vol. xii. p. 219. I have used the Venetian edition, 1729.

We find from the 'Fasti Consulares' of Almeloveen, that in A.D. 284, or P.N.C. 284, Imp. M. Aurelius Carinus II. and M. Aurelius Numerianus were consuls before "Kal. Mai."

The 266 Olympiad corresponds with A.D. 285. So to 255 years after Christ's Ascension must be added the thirty-four years of his age, which would make the A.D. = 289; but it is evident that the author of this Chronicon follows those chronologists who place the birth of Christ four years *earlier*, consequently the A.D. would be 285.

Procopius is the first historian who mentions in express terms, in his work 'De Ædificiis' (lib. 3, cap. 4), "George the Martyr,'—*Γεώργιος ὁ Μάρτυρ.*

The next mention seems to be that of Adamann, or *St. Adamnan*, at the close of the seventh century, who learnt it from Bishop Arculf on his homeward voyage from the Holy Land. This Adamann was abbot of the monastery of Hii, or the island of Icolmkill, now Iona, in the Western Sea of Scotland; and he wrote (about A.D. 670) a small book, 'De Situ Terræ Sanctæ.'[5] In it he thus says,—"De Sancto *Georgio* Martyre.—Arculfus, homo sanctus, . . . nobis de quodam *Martyre, Georgio* nomine, narrationem contulit, quam in Constantinopolitanâ urbe, à quibusdam expertis didicit civibus, qui hoc modo narrare soliti eidem dicebant. In Diospoli (Lydda, seu Lod) civitate, cujusdam *Martyris Georgii* in quâdam domo statua marmorea," etc., and he then proceeds to recount some legends, which I here omit.

[5] *Adamanni* Scoto-Hiberni Abbatis celeberrimi, de Situ Terræ Sanctæ, cap. iv. lib. 3. p. 107, edit. Jacob Gretseri, Ingolstadii, 1619.

Soon after, the Venerable Bede, in an abstract of the same narrative, entitled 'De Locis Sanctis Libellus,'[6] has added at the end of it an account of Arculf, of his travels, and of his ship having been driven by adverse winds upon the Scotch islet where Adamann was resident.

Again, Bede in his 'Ephemeris' (vol. i. p. 196), places in the month of *Aprilis*,—"9 Calend. *Georgii Martyris*,"—and in the opposite page these lines occur,—

> "Nona docet Fortunatumque et Achillea junctos,
> Hac etiam invicto mundum qui sanguine temnis
> Infinita refers *Georgi Sancte* trophæa."

The "9 Cal. Maii" answers to April 23rd, or the day of "St. George the Martyr."

In the 'Acta Sanctorum,' *Aprilis*,[7] the chapter on XXIII April begins,—

"S. Fortunatus, S. Achilleus } Diaconi,
Martyres Valentiæ in Galliâ,"

which explains the names already given from Bede; and then follows, "De *S. Georgio* Megalo-Martyre, Lyddæ, seu Diospoli, in Palestinâ." There also S. Georgius is termed *Nicomediensis*. But the pages of Papenbroch are so intermixed with legends, and matters relating to the Arian George of Alexandria, that little certain or definite can be elicited about the Martyr St. George of Syria or Palestine.

Having searched many of the Byzantine and other

[6] Venerabilis Bedæ Opera, vol. iii. p. 371, edit. Colon. Agrippinæ, 1612.

[7] Act. Sanct., Aprilis (D. Papenbrochii), vol. iii. pp. 100–163, Antwerp, 1675.

Greek writers, I will pass on to what I have discovered in them relative to our Saint.

Georgius Cedrenus,[8] a monk who lived in the eleventh century, relates in his *Σύνοψις Ἱστορίων*,—'Synopsis of Histories,'—that in the reign of Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius a great persecution of Christians occurred, "and those who were discovered to be Christians were compelled to sacrifice to the demons. On which account many obtained for themselves the crown of the contest, of whom were . . . Anthimus of Nicomedia, and Procopius, and *George*, the renowned *martyrs*."—*Τοὺς δὲ Χριστιανοὺς εὑρισκομένους ἀναγκάζεσθαι θύειν τοῖς δαίμοσι, διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τὸν τῆς ἀθλήσεως ἀνεδήσαντο στέφανον. Ἐξ ὧν εἰσι . . . Ἀνθιμὸς Νικομηδείας, καὶ Προκόπιος, καὶ Γεώργιος, οἱ ἀοίδιμοι μάρτυρες.* This account has very probably been derived from Eusebius's eighth book of 'Ecclesiastical History,' chapter 6, in which the martyrs Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia, and Gorgonius and others are named. Since, however, Cedrenus writes the latter martyr *Γεώργιος*, and not *Γοργόνιος*, this seems to confirm my supposition, expressed in my former paper, that the latter proper name has been an error in transcribing for the former, or for *Γεώργιος*.

And the learned Greek princess, Anna Comnena,[9] mentioning the *Κελτοὶ*, *French*, or rather, *Normans*, says, *κατελθόντες εἰς τὸν Ἰάφα*,—"They came to Japha (Joppa). Then they passed from thence to Ramel, in which also the great martyr *George* bore testimony of martyrdom." *Εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν κατέλαβον τὸ Ῥάμελ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ μεγαλομάρτυς Γεώργιος μεμαρτύρηκε.* Ramel, Ramys, or Ram-

[8] Byzant. Script. vol. xv. p. 209.

[9] Alexias, lib. xi. p. 259, vol. xxvi. Byzant. Script.

leh, lies on the direct road leading from Joppa to Jerusalem; and I have before shown that it has been sometimes confounded with Lydda, or Ludd, by reason of their being so nearly adjacent;[10] and this is the case in the present extract from Comnena.

St. George's body was brought from Nicomedia, where he had been martyred, to Lydda, his native town, and interred in the church which was there dedicated to him.

As the 'Ecclesiastical History' of Callistus Nicephorus gives an ample account of St. George, although mixed with a legendary story; and as the work is only attainable by a few, I think it better (according to my usual custom) to insert the original Greek, and then add a translation of the same.

*Τούτοις δὴ τοῖς χρόνοις, καὶ Γεώργιος, τὸ μέγα τῶν ἀθλητῶν ὄνομα, καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν μαρτύρων ὁ κορυφαῖος, τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πόνοις, γνησίους ἐθέριζε τοὺς καρποὺς· ἐκ Καππαδοκίας γὰρ ὤν, νεανίας ἔτι. καὶ ἀγαλματίας τὴν ὄψιν· καὶ οὔπω ἰούλοις περιστέφων τὸν πώγωνα, γενναίως τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἄθλοις διεμαρτύρει· ἐπεὶ γὰρ συσχεθεὶς διεκερτόμει μὲν δαίμοναις, τὸ δὲ τῶν κρατούντων διέπαιζεν ἀσεβές, πικράς τινας καὶ ὑπέρφυεις κολάσεις ὑφίστατο· ξυστῆρες μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ δεσμὰ καὶ φυλακὴν διελάμβανον· εἶτα τιτάνῳ πυρὸς κατεφλέγετο· τροχῷ κατετείνετο· ξίφεσι μεληδὸν ἐκτεμνόμενος· πολλαῖς δὲ ἄλλαις μηχαναῖς συντριβόμενος, τὸ εὐγενὲς αὐτοῦ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς συνοίας ἀνεσταλμένον, ἱκανῶς ἀνεδείκνυ· ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν τοῦ γήητος Γλυκερίου βοῦν ἀνίστα· καὶ τὴν βασιλίδα Ἀλεξάνδραν πρόπαλαι τὸν βίον ἀπολιπουσάν, εὐχῇ μόνῃ, τῶν τοῦ ᾅδου πυθμένων ἐξῆγε· καὶ τέλος ἀνδρικῶς ἐτελεύτα τῷ ξίφει.*[11]

[10] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. Vol. VI. p. 312, and note 14.

[11] Nicephori Callisti Ecclesiastica Historia, tom. i. lib. vii. cap. 15, edit. Fronto Ducæus. Par. 1630.

"In those times also, George,—a great name among the champions and the leader of the band of martyrs,—reaped the true fruits from his sufferings for Christ's sake. For being from Cappadocia, when still a young man; and being like a statue in appearance; and not yet encircling his chin with down, bore testimony nobly by his contests for the sake of Christ. For when apprehended, he reviled the demons, and he derided the impiety of the rulers; he underwent certain bitter and unnatural punishments. For rasors hacked him in chains and in prison; then he was burnt with quicklime; he was stretched on a wheel; his limbs being lacerated with swords; and being tormented with many other devices, he sufficiently displayed the generous courage of his soul and the firmness of his conscience. Besides, he overturned the ox of the impostor Glycerius; and he called forth, by prayer alone, from the depths of hell, the Empress Alexandra, who had not long since departed this life; and at last he died manfully by the sword."

In the absence of any distinct dates, I will now show the chronological order of several martyred persons, who are recorded by Nicephorus.

In his seventh book, chapter third, he writes that Diocletian had taken as his co-emperor, or companion in the empire, Maximianus Herculius. Now, we know from other sources that Diocletian had invested the latter with the title of Augustus, at Nicomedia, in the year of our era 286. In chapter fifth, of the same book, he mentions the martyrdoms of Peter and Dorotheus, in Nicomedia, in the time of Diocletian. In chapter sixth, also that of Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia; and then, in chapter fifteenth, he describes (as before

given) the death of *George*, the chief—ὁ κορυφαῖος—of martyrs; and he observes that the Queen Alexandra (the wife of the Emperor Diocletian) had previously died.

Dr. S. Pegge having correctly said, that "the adventurers in the Crusades, saw churches and monasteries dedicated to *St. George*," I will now recount, from the notices of the earlier historians, a few of the most ancient of these buildings. And of these, I name more especially the *churches*, because from inscriptions still existing upon some of them, I have been enabled to discover the most exact evidence of the non-identity of St. George, and Bishop George of Alexandria.

Procopius relates that Justinian erected (about A.D. 530) a church to George the Martyr, at Bizani, in Armenia,—*Βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς . . . ἱερὸν Γεωργίῳ τῷ μάρτυρι ἐν Βιζανοῖς ἐδείματο.*[12]

The Emperor Mauricius built an oratory—εὐκτήριον τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου—at Constantinople, to St. George.[13]

Constantine X. (*Monomachus*) erected, from the funds of the public treasury, a splendid monastery, "in the name of the Holy Great-Martyr George,"—*ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἁγίου Μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου*,[14] in the region called *Mangana*, at Constantinople. And the anonymous author of the 'Constantinopolitan Antiquities' writes, in a place named *Hiereium*, in Constantinople, "Constantine the Great built the church,"—*τὸν δὲ ναὸν ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνήγειρε*.[15] To this Anselm Bandurius observes, that "Codinus writes that this church was dedicated to *St. George*;" these are

[12] Procopii Cæsariensis de Ædificiis, lib. iii. cap. 4, vol. xvii. Byzant. Script.

[13] Anonym. Antiq. Constant. lib. i. p. 11, vol. iv. Byzant. Script.

[14] Anselmi Bandurii Comment. lib. ii. p. 466, vol. v. Byzant. Script.

[15] Anonymi Antiq. Constant. lib. iii. p. 50, vol. iv. Byzant. Script.

his words,—"Templum hoc à Constantino Magno extructum, *S. Georgio* fuisse *sacrum*, scribit Codinus."[16] If so, this was in all probability the earliest church which is known to have been dedicated to St. George; and it must have been erected soon after that martyr's death, *i. e.* between A.D. 285 and 337, when Constantine the Great died.

The same anonymous writer[17] likewise mentions a church of St. George in Chalcedon, which was built by the Patriarch Sergius. Also the Emperor Joannes V., Cantacuzenus, thus speaks in his 'History' of a 'ruined church of St. George,' at Jerusalem, which was situated "in the Roman quarter;"[18]—*χάλασμα ἦν παλαιὰς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν γειτονίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἅγιος Γεώργιος.*

In addition to the churches which I have already named in my former memoir, I will now allude to two or three more in Palestine, of which *one* is extremely important, because near to it there is lying a large fragment of a Greek inscription, which has not as yet been correctly interpreted. This church, or rather, this ruin of a church, which Burckhardt calls a "handsome edifice," is situate in the town called Shaka, formerly *Saccæa*, the *Σακκαία* of Ptolemy; it is only twenty miles distant to the east of Ezra, where the long inscription relating to St. George (No. 40), published in my last paper, still exists.

From the Shaka inscription, the Rev. J. L. Porter states, it appears that the "church was dedicated to

[16] Anselmi Bandurii Comment. in Antiq. Constant. p. 535, vol. v. Byzant. Script.

[17] Anonymi Antiq. Constant. lib. iii. p. 52, vol. iv. Byzant. Script.

[18] Joan. Cantacuz. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 14, vol. xiv. Byzant. Script.

the saints and martyrs *George* and *Sergius*, and erected by 'Tiberinos the bishop, in the year 263, corresponding to A.D. 369.'"[19]

Burckhardt mentions[20] the "building, of which the front wall only is standing;" and he adds,—"Upon a stone, lying on the ground before the wall, and which was probably the architrave of the door, I found the following inscription:"—

ΟΙΚΟCΑΓ ΩΝ ΘΛΟΦΟΡΩΝΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝΓΕΩΡ ΟΥΚΑΙΤΩΝ
CΥΝΑΥΤΩ ΓΙΩΝΕΚΠΡΟCΦΟΡ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΝΟΥΕΠΙCΚΕΚΤΙCΘΗ Θ
ΕΛΙΩΝΤ ΙΕΡ ΤΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΠΡΟCΘΗΚΗΝΤΟΥΝΑΟΥ .....
..... ΕΤΟΥCCΞΓΓΠΟΥΔΗ ΕΓΕΩΡΓΙΟ ΚΑΙCΕΡΓΙϐΜΕΓΑΛ

*οἶκος ἁγ(ί)ων (ἀ)θλοφόρων μαρτύρων Γεωρ(γί)ου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ (ἀ)γίων ἐκ προσφορ(ῶν) Τιβερίνου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐκτίσθη (ἐκ) θε-(μ)ελίων. Τ(ὸ) ἱερ(α)τῖον καὶ τὴν προσθήκην τοῦ ναοῦ . . . . . .*
*. . . . . ἔτους σξγ σπουδὴ (δ)ὲ Γεωργίο(υ) καὶ Σεργίου μεγάλο*

I have translated it as follows:—

"A church of the holy victorious *martyrs George*, and of the *holy* (*men*) with him, was built from the foundations with the offerings of Bishop *Tiberinus*. But the care of Georgius and Sergius [erected] the sanctuary, and the addition of the temple . . . . . in the year 263, great" . . . .

The church then was not "dedicated to *George* and *Sergius*," but to the *Martyr George* and the *holy men*, who were martyred with him. The expression of "George and those saints *martyred* with him,"—*μαρτύρων Γεωργίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ Ἁγίων*,—very clearly proves that it could not possibly be referred to George the

[19] Five Years in Damascus, vol. ii. p. 64.

[20] Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 75.

Arian bishop, who was not *martyred*[21] with many *holy men*, but merely *assassinated* for his base conduct at Alexandria, with only *two* more, namely, the master of the mint, and Count Diodorus.

And as to the *date* given in the inscription, I think that it answers, computed from the Bostræan era, to A.D. 367,[22] which would be in the third year of Valens, the Eastern emperor, and only five or six years after the infamous bishop's murder: but it is evident that the year 263 only refers to the date of the *sanctuary* (ἱερατεῖον) and the *addition* (προσθήκη), a supplemental building, which the care of George and Sergius erected. The original church itself, "built from its foundations" by Bishop Tiberinus, must, in all probability,—nay, almost with certainty,—have been in existence *before* the assassination of the Arian George and his *two* "obsequious ministers." It is doubtless an edifice of vast interest, and possibly erected much about the same date (A.D. 346) as the church of St. George at Ezra.

Mr. Porter very reasonably thinks, "that Saccæa may, in early Christian times, have been rebuilt or adorned by some prefect, and called after the name of one of the emperors, perhaps Constantine, as was the case in so many other instances; and then, after the

[21] *Vide infra*, p. 24, where I have shown from St. Epiphanius that this Bishop George did *not* suffer martyrdom.

[22] Colonel Leake, the editor of Burckhardt's posthumous work on Syria, has inaccurately referred (p. 75) that date to A.D. 263. This is impossible, because in that year St. George was still alive, and was *not martyred* until above twenty years afterwards. See a like error which Colonel Leake made with respect to the date of the Ezra inscription, and which I corrected at p. 306, Vol. VI. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.

lapse of a few generations, the *old* name was *resumed*, and the new one soon forgotten. There is a Constantine, *Κωνσταντίνη*, mentioned in the province of Arabia, in the list of ecclesiastical cities."[23] This idea would seem to receive confirmation from the remains of several churches or christianized temples,[24] and from the wording of the present inscription,—in this ruined episcopal town of *Shaka*. In fact, these ecclesiastical buildings call to mind very strongly the age of Constantine the Great, when the martyred saints were taking the places of the heathen deities, and heathen temples were being converted into Christian churches.

Baronius, in his 'Ecclesiastical Annals,'[25] says from Procopius, that about A.D. 530, Justinian the emperor, "ipsum item *renovasse templum* S. Thalalæi, *S. Georgii*, et Panteleemonis *Martyrum* in eremo Jordanis." On referring, however, to Procopius's work, I find that Baronius is quite wrong, for the Greek author states that Justinian repaired a *monastery*, not a church,—of *St. Gregory*, and not of St. George. This is the original passage:—*Μοναστήριον . . . τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.*[26]

Also the handsome and well-known church at Ludd, the former Lydda, and Diospolis of the Greeks, and not far from Ramleh, in which, as I have already said, the greater part of the body of St. George was interred, became a place of considerable sanctity during the

[23] Porter's 'Damascus,' vol. ii. p. 64.

[24] See Porter's 'Handbook for Syria,' vol. ii. p. 509.

[25] Baronii Annal. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 425, edit. Lucæ, 1741.

[26] Procopius de Ædificiis Justini, vol. xvii. lib. 5. cap. 9, Byzant. Script.

Crusades; and it is recorded to have been repaired by the lion-hearted Richard. An engraving of its present ruins may be seen in Thomson's 'The Land and the Book' (vol. ii. p. 292); and Dr. Robinson says, in his last 'Travels in Palestine,'—"These are noble ruins, but were now, by daylight, less majestic and imposing than as we saw them formerly, by moonlight."[27]

Travellers in the Holy Land, and Burckhardt[28] particularly, remark that "the Turks pay great veneration to St. George," and the Mahomedans, and sometimes the Christians, call him "El Khouder." And Mr. Stanley,[29] in his book on that country, mentions a Mussulman sepulchral *chapel* on the sea-shore, near Sarafend, the former Sarepta, dedicated to *El Khouder*, in which "there is no tomb inside, only hangings before a recess. This variation from the usual type of Mussulman sepulchres was, as we were told by the peasants on the spot, because El Khouder is not yet dead; he flies round and round the world, and those chapels are built wherever he has appeared." This legend has probably originated from the supposed frequent appearance in person of St. George to different parties, and especially to render assistance to the Crusaders in their battles.[30] Again, in Busrah, the ancient *Bostra*,

[27] Robinson's 'Later Biblical Researches in Palestine,' p. 143.

[28] Syria, pp. 60, 95.

[29] Sinai and Palestine, p. 274, 2nd edit., 1856.

[30] In addition to the legend of St. George's appearing in order to assist the Crusaders at the Siege of Antioch, in A.D. 1098, which is already given at p. 313, Vol. VI. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., I may mention another similar apparition, which is related (fol. cxiii.) in the 'Golden Legende' (edit. Wynkyn de Worde, Lond. 1527), to have occurred, in these words:—"That whan y^e^ Chrysten men went ouer see to conquere Jherusalem, .... it so was y^t^ they had assyeged

Mr. Porter describes[31] a mosque, called *El Khouder;* it stands alone, in the north-west of the ruined city, and is numbered 12 on his accompanying plan. Also, "the Arabs," according to Burckhardt, "give the name of *Abd Maaz* to St. George." He speaks of a rivulet (*moiet*), a hill (*tell*), and the ruins of a town, which bear respectively the name of Abd Maaz, to the south-east of Busrah, and not far from Salkhad.

Next, I will mention a few churches which have been early erected to St. George in the west of Europe.

This saint and martyr was not introduced into the Roman Calendar and Church until A.D. 494, by Pope Gelasius. A church of St. George, in the cheese-market (in Velabro) at Rome, near the colossal arch of Janus Quadrifrons, is believed to have been originally built about the sixth century.[32] Pope Leo II. is related to have repaired and beautified it in A.D. 682; and Pope Zacharias is said to have nearly rebuilt it,

Jherusalem, and durst not mount ne go upon y^e^ walles for y^e^ quarelles and defence of the Sarasyns, they sawe appertly *Saint George*, whiche had whyte armes w^th^ a *reed crosse* y^t^ wente up tofore them on y^e^ wall, and they folowed hym, and so was Jherusalem taken by his helpe."

Tasso, however, in his celebrated poem of 'Jerusalem Delivered,' has unfortunately not followed this legend in describing the conquest of the Holy City during that siege; but he has brought upon the scene the *Angel Michael*—in the place of *Saint George*—with a vast heavenly host.

The poet's beautiful verses on the planting of "La Vincitrice Insegna" of the Holy Cross (canto 18, stanza c.) should be ever fresh in the memory:—

> "The sacred mount the *purple Cross* adores,
> And Sion owns it from her topmost towers."

[31] Damascus, vol. ii. p. 154.

[32] Vasi's 'Itinéraire de Rome,' edit. by Prof. A. Nibby, vol. ii. p. 336. Rome, 1824.

A.D. 741–52. To whichsoever of these Popes the existing church is due, is of no great moment, for it must be admitted to be an edifice of great antiquity and interest. It is a *basilica* in plan, with a portico in front sustained by four Ionic columns, and two pilasters at the corners; the whole being enclosed with high iron rails. The interior presents the form of a Latin cross; it has a nave and two side-aisles, which are divided chiefly by ancient granite pillars. The campanile, or belfry, on one side, is a square brick tower, ornamented with rows of three narrow blank windows, terminating in round arches.

Of the numerous churches which have been erected in our own country to this martyr, I will only refer to three or four that are known to be very ancient.

The first is the monastery, or house of regular canons, and the church of St. George at Thetford,[33] in Norfolk, which was founded by Uvius, the first abbot of Bury St. Edmund's; this foundation, according to Tanner and others, took place in the reign of Canute the Dane.

The second is the collegiate church of St. George[34]

[33] See Tanner, 'Notitia Monastica,' p. 430; and, more fully, Blomefield's 'Norfolk,' vol. ii. pp. 40, 74, 89; also p. 95, for a rough copy of "sigillum conventûs," representing St. George killing the Dragon. But, in p. 477, vol. iv., of the late and noble edition (1823) of Dugdale's 'Monasticon Anglicanum,' by *Ellis*, etc., I must point out an error in No. I., an ancient *Carta*, which is entitled, "Quomodo Moniales *S. Gregorii* de Thetford ingressum habuerunt in Thetford," where "S. Gregorii" seems a mistake for *S. Georgii;* since in the carta itself "Monasterium *S. Georgii*" is alone named.

[34] Stevens's addition to Dugdale's 'Monasticon Anglicanum,' vol. ii. p. 115, where it appears that this church was consecrated to the memory of the "Blessed Martyr St. George, the Tutelar Saint of England."

at Oxford, whose date is given, by the same authorities, as A.D. 1074, in the reign of William the Conqueror.

The third, or the original church of St. George the Martyr, in Southwark, was considered by many as having existed prior to the Norman Conquest.

The fourth, Tanner writes that William Greisley dedicated the priory at Greisley, in Derbyshire, to St. Mary and St. George, in the time of Henry I. Having already mentioned St. George's Royal Chapel at Windsor, which was founded in A.D. 1348, by Edward III., I will only observe that it was really dedicated, like that at Greisley, to the honour of the "Virgin Mary and St. George." Now, as three of these, or certainly the first two, were erected *before* the first Crusade in A.D. 1096, how came this saint and martyr to have been introduced from Palestine into England? To this the most obvious answer is, by means of certain English pilgrims having visited the Holy Land. Or it may have been by some religious travellers, on their return from Constantinople, or from Rome.

I think, however, that there is *another* mode, through which the knowledge of this soldier-saint, may very probably have been also introduced, in addition to Bishop Arculf's narrative respecting him, which he brought from Constantinople, and which was published by Adamann and Bede, previous to A.D. 700, namely, by some *Varangians*, or *Βάραγγοι*. These were, as is well-known, mercenary soldiers, forming the body-guard of the Greek emperors at Constantinople;[35] and they were continued in the Imperial service be-

[35] Gibbon (in chap. 55) seems to assign the date of A.D. 862 to the introduction of the Varangian Guard.

yond the commencement of the thirteenth century. Although most of them were Danes and Norwegians, or *Nordmen*, from Scandinavia; still, some were English, and spoke, as some authors assert, Danish, whilst others say English; possibly both, or rather, I should hold, the old Norwegian tongue, now termed Norse.[36]

Thetford was, at a very early period, the capital of East Anglia, and it had often been taken and destroyed by the Danes; in the age of King Canute it revived, and the probability seems to me strong, that certain Danes, hearing of the gallant saint and martyr George, who was so highly reverenced in the Greek Church at Constantinople, from some Varangians, or they themselves being discharged soldiers of that corps, accordingly brought his fame into East Anglia.

Whether one or more of these suggested modes form the true solution of the question, is of little consequence, for after the *first* Crusade, the victorious George,—who is styled by Constantine Manasses, *ὁ θεῖος Χριστομάρτυρ ὁ τροπαιοφόρος*,—became the tutelar saint and patron of England; and his red cross was emblazoned on her standard, and so continues to the present time.

Secondly, as to *George* the Arian *Bishop* of Alexandria, in Egypt.

The 'Chronicon Paschale' thus records:—

*σπε' ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΣ.*

*Τπ. Μαμερτίνου καὶ Νεβήτα.*

*Ἰουλιανὸς γνοὺς τὴν Κωνσταντίου τοῦ Αὐγούστου τελευτὴν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀποστασίαν, καὶ ἀσέβειαν φανερὰν καθιστῶν,*

[36] See this explained in my memoir on Iceland, in Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. Vol. VI. p. 349, note 44, and p. 382.

διάταγμα κατὰ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀποστελλών, τὰ εἴδωλα πάντα ἀνανεοῦσθαι προσέταττεν. Ἐφ' οἷς ἐπαρθέντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀνατολὴν Ἕλληνες, εὐθέως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, Γεώργιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πόλεως συλλαβόμενοι, ἀνείλον καὶ τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἀσεβῶς ἐνύβρισαν. Καμήλῳ γὰρ ἐπιθέντες δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως περιέφερον. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διαφόρων ἀλόγων νεκρὰ σώματα μετὰ τῶν ὀστέων συναγαγόντες, καὶ συμμίξαντες αὐτοῦ τῷ λειψάνῳ καὶ κατακαύσαντες διεσκόρπισαν.[37]

I have translated it in these words:—

"285 Olympiad.

"*Consuls*, Mamertinus and Neveta.

"Julian learning the death of the Emperor Constantius, making manifest his own apostasy and impiety; and despatching an edict against Christianity throughout the whole world, ordered all idols to be restored. Whereupon the Gentile Greeks in the East being excited, immediately in Alexandria, which is in Egypt, having seized *George* the Bishop of the city, murdered him, and profanely insulted his corpse. For placing it upon a camel, they carried it round about the whole city. And afterwards gathering together the dead carcases of different brutes with their bones, and mingling them with his corpse, they burnt them, and scattered them abroad."

According to Almeloveen (Fast. Consul. p. 164) in the year "362 P.N.C. Fl. Mamertinus et Fl. Nevitta" were consuls.

But the 285 Olympiad corresponds to A.D. 361, and another year would make it the second year of the same Olympiad, thus creating the difference of only a

[37] Chronicon Paschale, p. 235, vol. xii. Byzant. Script.

few weeks; or even less, if the birth of our Saviour on December 25th be taken as the beginning of the year 362. Some writers fix the murder of Bishop George at the end of December 361, whilst others consider that it occured in 362. Thus it will be found, that if the year be taken to commence on the *day* of the Incarnation of Christ, it would be, supposing the nefarious George to have been killed on, or after, the 25th day of December,—of course in the year 362; but, those who compute the new year on, or from, January 1st, would correctly conclude that assassination to have been effected in 361.[38]

Of the contemporary authors, who flourished about the period in which this George lived (A.D. 337–70), I will take first, Ammianus Marcellinus, because his narration is the most complete; and on the testimony of that "cool and impartial infidel," Gibbon has mainly relied.

It is as follows:—"Cumque tempus interstetisset exiguum, Alexandrini Artemii comperto interitu, quem verebantur, ne cum potestate reversus (id enim minatus est) multos læderet, ut offensus, iram in *Georgium* verterunt *Episcopum* (vipereis, ut ita dixerim, morsibus ab eo sæpius) adpetiti. In fulloniâ natus, ut ferebatur apud *Epiphaniam* Ciliciæ oppidum, actusque in damna complurium, contra utilitatem suam reique communis, *Episcopus Alexandriæ* est ordinatus, in civitate, quæ,

[38] According to Gibbon (chap. 23), on Nov. 30, A.D. 361, George was imprisoned; and he says, "at the *end* of twenty-four days" his *lifeless* body was "carried in triumph through the streets;" it would thus seem that his murder occured at the *end* of the 24th day of December, or rather, perhaps, early on December 25th, the Nativity of Christ.

suopte motu, et ubi causæ non suppetunt, seditionibus crebris agitatur et turbulentis, ut oraculorum quoque loquitur fides. His efferatis hominum mentibus, *Georgius* quoque ipse grave accesserat incentivum apud patulas aures Constantii, multos exinde incusans, ut ejus recalcitrantes imperiis: professionisque suæ oblitus, quæ nihil nisi justum suadet et lene, ad delatorum ausa feralia desciscebat. Et inter cætera dicebatur id quoque maligne docuisse Constantium, quod in urbe prædicta ædificia cuncta solo cohærentia, à conditore Alexandro magnitudine impensarum publicarum exstructa, emolumentis ærarii proficere debent ex jure. Ad hæc mala id quoque addiderat, unde paullo post trusus est in exitium præceps. Reversus ex comitatu principis, cum transiret per speciosum Genii templum, multitudine stipatus ex more, flexis ad ædem ipsam luminibus, '*Quamdiu*,' inquit, '*sepulchrum hoc stabit*?' Quo audito, velut fulmine multi perculsi metuentesque, ne illud quoque tentaret evertere, quidquid poterant, in ejus perniciem clandestinis insidiis concitabant. Ecce autem repente perlato lætabili nuntio indicante exstinctum Artemium, plebs omnis elata gaudio insperato, vocibus horrendis infundens, *Georgium* petit: raptumque diversis mulcandi generibus proterens et conculcans divaricatis pedibus. Cumque eo *Dracontius* monetæ præpositus, et *Diodorus* quidam veluti Comes, injectis per crura funibus, simul exanimati sunt: ille, quod aram in moneta, quam regebat, recens locatam evertit; alter, quod, dum ædificandæ præesset ecclesiæ, cirros puerorum licentius detondebat, id quoque ad deorum cultum existimans pertinere. Quo non contenta, multitudo immanis dilaniata cadavera peremptorum camelis imposita vexit ad littus; iisdemque sub-

dito igne crematis, cineres projecit in mare, id metuens, ut clamabat, ne collectis supremis, ædes illis exstruerentur ut reliquis, qui deviare à religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles pœnas, adusque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi, et nunc martyres adpellantur."[39]

Next, St. Athanasius, the Archbishop of Alexandria, and Primate of Egypt, whose throne, during his temporary retirement, George had usurped, has written much condemnatory of him. I will only give three extracts from his works, which will be sufficient to show what the orthodox Christians, at that time, thought of him.

*Γεώργιος ὁ διωχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης.*[40]

*Καὶ περὶ μὲν Γεωργίου τοῦ Καππάδοκος τοῦ ἐκβληθέντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, λόγος οὐδείς· ἀνθρώπου, μήτε ἐκ προάγοντος βίου τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἔχοντος, μήτε ὅλως Χριστιανοῦ τυγχάνοντος, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑποκριναμένου διὰ τὸν καιρὸν τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ πορισμὸν ἡγησαμένου τὴν εὐσεβείαν.*[41]

*Διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀποστρέφεσθαι τὴν πρὸς Γεώργιον κοινωνίαν.*[42]

"*George*, who was persecuted by the whole world."

"And no account need be taken concerning George the Cappadocian, who was cast out of Alexandria: concerning a man, who having neither the testimony of his former life, nor being altogether a Christian, but only having obtained the name through opportunity, and having considered religion for a gain."

[39] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22, cap. xi. (A.D. 362), tom. iii. Lipsiæ, 1808.

[40] Athanasii Opera: 'De Synodis,' p. 725, cap. 12, tom. i. Par. 1698.

[41] Athanasii Opera: 'De Synodis,' p. 752, cap. 37.

[42] *Ibid.* 'Apol. de Fuga,' p. 323, cap. 6, tom. i.

"Wherefore all men turned away from communion with George."

St. Gregory of Nazianzus, in his oration in praise of the former archbishop,—*εἰς τὸν μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας*,—says, amongst other things, of *George*:—*Γεώργιος . . . ὁ δὲ κατὰ πολλὴν ἤδη τοῦ κωλύσοντος ἐρημίαν, κατατρέχει μὲν Αἴγυπτον, ληΐζεται δὲ Συρίαν τῷ κράτει τῆς ἀσεβείας, ἐπιλαμβανέται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑώας, ὅσον ἐδύνατο, τὸ ἀῤῥωστοῦν ἀεὶ προσλαμβάνων, ὥσπερ οἱ χείμαῤῥοι τὰ συῤῥέοντα, καὶ τοῖς κουφοτέροις ἢ δειλοτέροις ἐπιφυόμενος.*[43]

"But he, through the want of some one to check him, overruns Egypt, and plunders Syria by the strength of his profaneness, and he seizes, and always gains the weak portion of the east, as much as he is able, as the winter-torrents take floating bodies with them, and attaching himself to the lighter or more wretched people."

Then St. Epiphanius, another contemporary, and who survived George, in his work 'Against Heresies,' records that "George was slain at the time in which Julian reigned,"—*ὁ Γεώργιος ἀνῃρέθη, ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰουλιανός*.[44]

He also in the same work fully describes George's[45] assassination; but, since the details of it are already known from the citations which I have given from other writers, I need not here repeat them. St. Epiphanius, however, in the sequel, distinctly proves that George did *not* suffer martyrdom;[46] and this he does in

[43] S. Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, xxi. Orati. pp. 384–5, vol. i. Par. 1630.

[44] S. Epiphanii Adv. Hær. p. 726, cap. 10, tom. i. edit. *Petavii*. Par. 1622.

[45] *Ibid.* p. 912, lib. 3, cap. 1.

[46] *Ibid.* pp. 912, 913.

this very important passage:—*Λέξειε δ' ἄν τὶς περὶ τοῦ οὕτως τετελεύτηκότος, οὐκοῦν ἐμαρτύρησεν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ταῦτα πεπονθώς; καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας αὐτῳ ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων διὰ φθόνον, καὶ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμολογίαν τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτῷ συμβέβηκεν, ὄντως ἐν μάρτυσι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν μικροῖς, ἐτέτακτο. οὐκ ἦν δὲ τὸ αἴτιον διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δῆθεν Ἐπισκοπῇ καλουμένῃ, πολλὴν βίαν τὴν πόλιν τε καὶ τὸν δῆμον διέθετο, πῇ μὲν ἁρπάζων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων αὐτῶν κληρονομήματα.*

"Some one may observe concerning his having thus ended, did he not therefore suffer martyrdom when having endured these things from the Gentile Greeks? And if indeed, the contest with him had been concerning truth, and if such-like things had happened to him through envy from the Gentile Greeks, and for his confession of Christ, verily he would have been classed among martyrs, and those not small ones. The cause was not the confession of Christ, but forsooth in the office called by himself the *Bishopric*, he exercised great violence both against the city and the people; by any method plundering men of the inheritances from their parents."

Theophanes, in his 'Chronography,' gives the same account of the murder of George, and in nearly the same words as the author of the 'Chronicon Paschale' had previously done. He writes:—*Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης . . . τότε οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν Ἕλληνες ἐπαρθέντες, εὐθέως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Γεώργιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον σύροντες ἀνεῖλον, καὶ τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἀθέως καμήλῳ ἐπιθέντες, ἐνεπόμπευον διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μετὰ νεκρῶν ἀλόγων ὀστέων μίξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ λείψανον, κατέκαυσαν, καὶ ἐσκόρπισαν.*[47]

[47] Theophan. *Χρονογραφία*, p. 31, vol. iii. Byzant. Script., edit

"In this year Julian the Apostate reigned . . . then the Gentile Greeks in the east being roused, straightway seizing George the bishop in Alexandria, murdered him, and having profanely placed his corpse on a camel, carried it in procession through the city, and having mingled his corpse with the bones of dead beasts, burnt them, and scattered them abroad."

George Cedrenus, mentioning in his 'Compendium of History' the absence of Athanasius, records that "George the Arian—a Cappadocian monster—was elected by the Arians," in his place,—*καὶ χειροτονεῖται ὑπὸ Ἀρειανῶν, Γεώργιος Ἀρειανός, τέρας τι Καππαδόκειον.*

And he subsequently adds, "In the first year of this (*Julian*), . . . the Gentile Greeks in the East being roused immediately, dragging away George the Bishop in Alexandria, killed him;"—*τῷ πρώτῳ τούτου (Ἰουλιανοῦ) ἔτει, . . . οἱ κατὰ ἀνατολὴν Ἕλληνες ἐπαρθέντες εὐθὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Γεώργιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον σύροντες ἀνεῖλον.*[48]

I do not consider it necessary to take up the attention of my readers in prosecuting any further my inquiries with regard to the non-identity of George the martyred *Saint* and George the murdered *Bishop*; I will therefore not insert any more extracts from the Byzantine writers or from the 'Ecclesiastical History' of Callistus Nicephorus. But I will only observe that the last-named elegant writer has given in the sixth chapter of his tenth book, an ample description of the assassination of George, the Arian Bishop of

Venetiis, 1729. In this edition there are two errors of the press in this passage, the letters *καμὴ* are omitted, and *ἐνεπόμπευον διὰ τῆς πόλεως* are repeated.

[48] Georgii Cedreni Hist. Compend. pp. 236, 240, vol. xv. Byzant. Script.

Alexandria, which is well worthy of perusal. He there states that the perpetrators of that murder were not the orthodox Christians, but the Greek Gentiles, or heathens, of Alexandria, in the time of Julian. And in the seventh chapter he gives the public epistle of that Emperor to the Alexandrians, wherein he blames their wicked assassination of the tyrannical George, and in the words of the Roman author before quoted, "Acri oratione scelus detestabatur admissum."[49]

The readers of the foregoing pages, who have paid even slight attention to the authorities which I have set forth in chronological order, and which elucidate respectively the deaths of the illustrious St. George the *Martyr*, and of the Arian *Bishop* of the same name, will, I am satisfied, be greatly surprised to find that so many writers,—and among these especially our own Gibbon,—should, intentionally or confusedly, have for a long period considered them to be *one* and the *same person*. And it is further remarkable that this error of identity should be continued in our best biographies up to the year 59 of the present century; such will appear to be the fact to those who may consult these very recent and excellent works, namely, Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, and the new 'Dictionnaire de Biographie Générale' (Paris, 1857), the last being still in the course of publication. And who could have conceived that so well-read and sensible a traveller as

[49] Ammian. Marcell. lib. 22, cap. xi.; *vide* Juliani Epist. x.; and Gibbon remarks that "the public epistle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the *partial spirit* of his administration" (chap. xxiii.); but it seems to me to do *more*, viz. to betray some signs of *duplicity*.

Mr. Porter would have made the like popular mistake in identifying the *two* Georges, so lately as the year 1855, and at that time writing from Syria? Such, however, is the case; for in his interesting work on Damascus (vol. ii. p. 64, *note* 8), he writes "that *Saint* George was murdered at *Alexandria;*" and again he says, "George the *Saint*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, was killed by the mob during a revolt caused by his persecution of the heathen, in A.D. 361."

But in the year 1858, I was fortunately enabled, by careful examination of the Greek inscription (No. 40)[50] which Mr. Cyril Graham had, in the previous summer, copied from a very ancient church—originally a heathen temple—at Ezra, in Syria, to determine most satisfactorily that *Saint* George had *died before* the year A.D. 346, in which he is expressly called a "Holy *Martyr*." Also, it is clear that this date occurred during the lifetime of the *other* George—the Alexandrian *bishop*—who survived for fifteen years longer, viz. to A.D. 362; and who then, having expiated his vices and base conduct by assassination, could *not*, under any consideration, be esteemed a *Martyr*.

This *confusion* of *identity* is supposed, and indeed with much probability, to have been *purposely* made by the Arians,[51] in order to raise the credit and repute

[50] Trans. Royal Soc. Lit. Vol. VI. p. 305.

[51] This will appear more probable when it is recollected that the *founder* of this heretical sect *first proposed* his religious novelties or doctrines *at Alexandria*. *Arius*, or Ἄρειος, was considered to have been born in Libya, to the south-west of Alexandria, about A.D. 260; he was ordained a presbyter in that city in A.D. 313, and soon afterwards had the charge of a church there. A few years subsequently, the famous dispute concerning his new doctrines took place, and his followers in Alexandria, as well as in many other parts of Egypt,

of their own bishop, George, whom they had elected at Alexandria in the place of Athanasius, and whilst he was in retirement, at the expense of the fame and virtues of George the Syrian martyr. From the authorities detailed in my preceding and present papers, we find, on the *one hand*, that *Saint* George was born at *Lydd*, or *Lydda*, in Syria ; that his parents, being in good circumstances, and Christians, nurtured him " in the fear of the Lord," as in fact we know that " all who dwelt in Lydda " had " turned to the Lord " even as early as the year of Christ 38, after St. Peter had come down to them.[52] That his parents took him when young into Cappadocia,[53] from whence he went to Nicomedia, where the Emperor Diocletian resided, and in whose army he served as an officer. By the orders of that Emperor he, with a great many more Christians, suffered cruel torments, during, in all likelihood, the *ninth* persecution. That, according to the legends, shortly before his death, he rescued by his prayers the Empress Alexandra from the depths of hell, and vanquished by his prowess the ferocious Dragon, both being merely fabulous, but excellent *emblems*

rapidly increased. Then followed, in 325, the celebrated general council at *Nicæa*,—a noble city not far distant from the Roman-Greek capital of Nicomedia,—in which *Arius* and his followers were condemned. But notwithstanding this blow, and the death of Arius in A.D. 336, the Arian party continued for many years afterwards to find numerous supporters in Alexandria. And, in fact, at the period (A.D. 356) when George was chosen bishop, the Emperor Constantius evidently favoured that heretical party.

[52] See Acts, chap. ix. vv. 32, 35.

[53] The words of Callistus Nicephorus, in his Ecclest. Hist. before cited, merely state, ἐκ Καππαδοκίας γὰρ ὤν," for being *from* (or *in*) Cappadocia," and *not* that he was *born* there.

of the true Christian's victory over hell, and conquest of sin, or the Devil.

On the *other hand*, we learn that the *second* George was *born* in a fuller's mill, according to some, *in Cappadocia*, or, as others state, in the neighbouring district of *Cilicia*;[54] that after certain disreputable acts he, assuming "the profession of Arianism," proceeded to Alexandria, in Egypt, of which city he was chosen *bishop* by the followers of that heretical sect; that, in consequence of his vile conduct and intolerable exactions, the heathen populace there murdered him, with his two friends, the master of the mint, Dracontius, and Count Diodorus.

Hence the confusion, whether designedly or erroneously, may have arisen from *both* Georges being reported to have been *from* or *in* Cappadocia; from the stories of the Empress *Alexandra*, of the city of *Alexandria*, and from the slaughters of the beast *Dragon*, and of the man *Dracontius*.

At the same time, it may be asked, why have I taken so great pains to determine from ancient authors the hitherto *unsettled* question, whether the holy *Martyr* George, the tutelar saint[55] of England, be the *same* with the Arian *bishop* of that name, or *not?* To this I reply, that my trouble would have been of little or no importance, except in a purely historical, or rather, in a biographical view, had not *this Saint* been es-

[54] St. Athanasius calls this George, "the Cappadocian," see *ante*, p. 22; whilst Ammianus Marcellinus writes, "Natus, ut ferebatur, apud Epiphaniam *Ciliciæ* oppidum:" *vide ante*, p. 125.

[55] St. George is also esteemed the Guardian and Patron Saint of Genoa. This doubtless originated from the early and great connection of that republic with Constantinople and the East.

teemed for so many centuries the *patron of our country*, under whose banner our soldiers have successfully fought, and especially the Patron of the most noble military Order in the world.

For surely every Englishman must feel considerable interest in the question, and more particularly must every distinguished Knight of St. George and the Garter, and, above all, must our gracious Queen, as *Sovereign* of that most illustrious Order, be individually interested in its determination! And who in truth is there among us in England, who would either in battle be inspired with the waving of the red-cross banner, or at home in civil pursuits regard with any degree of sanctity or respect the name of *Saint* George, had that person really been the infamous heretic, and Arian *bishop* of Alexandria?

I need not here recount any of the heroic deeds of our brave soldiers under the banner of St. George;[56] but since the distinguished "Order of the Garter" is less known, I will here insert, as probably new to many persons, the style and character of the "Admonition" formerly, and I believe still solemnly, pronounced by the Chancellor upon the investiture of the *Collar* (with the George and Dragon pendent) of that noble Order.[57] In English it runs thus:—"Take you this Collar, with the *image of St. George, patron of this Order*, about

[56] I have said nothing about our valiant *sailors*, whose "hearts of oak" are ever alive to support the honour of the *Union Jack*—in the centre of which appears, in conspicuous *red*, the "Cross of Saint George,"—only because England's Patron is chiefly accounted a *Soldier-Saint*.

[57] The Star of the Order bears in its centre the Greek *red* Cross of St. George, edged with *white*.

your neck, by the help whereof you may the better pass through both the prosperity and adversity of this world; so that your enemies both of body and soul may be overcome; you then may receive not only the *glory* of temporal chivalry, but also the rejoicing of *everlasting victory*, in sign and token of this Order, and increase of your honour."[58]

May then England be always proud of her well-chosen "Patron," as the gallant example of Christian purity and valour; and may due honour and esteem be still awarded to

"*Saint George* of mery England, the signe of *Victoree!*"[59]

And lastly, may our most gracious lady, Queen Victoria,—like as that soldier-saint overcame in the legend his direful enemy, in the form of a Dragon,—vanquish every enemy under every form; and so ever continue practically to illustrate, by the prowess of her victorious arms in all regions of the globe, the truth of the excellent motto, "Dat gloria vires!"

[58] Ashmole; appendix, No. 102.

[59] Spenser's 'Faërie Queene,' book i. canto x. stanza 61.

## V.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY, FROM THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B.

(Read February 20th, 1861.)

It has been long known that passing allusions to Egypt occur in several places in the Cuneiform Inscriptions; but it was not suspected, until lately, that from the same source might be recovered complete chapters of the lost history of the Empire of the Pharaohs. Recent research, however, has led to the discovery of one such chapter, and has indicated the existence of another.

I propose then in the following paper to lay before the Royal Society of Literature, which has always taken a prominent part in the prosecution of hieroglyphic science, a brief notice of the new matter which has thus unexpectedly come to light; and in order to make the subject more complete, I will preface the account with some general remarks on the early connection of the Egyptians with Babylonia and Assyria.

It is certain that under the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasties, or from the beginning of the fifteenth to the end of the twelfth century B.C., the arms

of Egypt penetrated far into Asia, and it has been asserted that during this period Assyria was conquered and Babylon even was subjected to an Egyptian influence, Thothmes III. having set his stela at Nineveh, and *lapis lazuli* of Babylon having been exhibited amongst the spoils of Rameses III.[1] Now there is nothing in the Cuneiform records either to confirm or to disprove such a statement. No Cuneiform document has been yet discovered,—or at any rate deciphered,—having reference to foreign conquest which is of an earlier date than the end of the twelfth century B.C. All the more ancient legends relate simply to domestic history, and there is nothing in the information thus obtained which is inconsistent with the idea that Rameses, or Thothmes, may have advanced as far as Nineveh, while Assyria was yet a mere provincial government, dependent on the great Babylonian Empire to the south. At the same time, the geographical names occurring on the hieroglyphic tablets, which have been brought forward as evidence of the great extension of Egyptian power to the east, are a most fallacious guide. *Naharayn*, which is so constantly mentioned as the limit of Egyptian conquest, and which has been identified with Mesopotamia, is, as I believe, quite a different country.[2] The

[1] See Historical Notice of Egypt in Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. pp. 358 and 374.

[2] It has been always assumed that the names of *Naharain* on the Egyptian monuments and of *Aram Naharaim* in Scripture are derived from the Semitic word *Nahar* (נהר) "a river," and thus denote the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, which was entitled Mesopotamia by the Greeks; but this etymology is anything but certain, for in Scripture, even, Balaam speaks of the *Aram Naharaim* from whence he was summoned by Balak, as "the mountains of the East,"

*Na'iri*, at any rate, known to the Assyrians, and of which we have the most detailed geographical notices in the Cuneiform inscriptions, was the country stretching along the southern slopes of Mount Taurus, from the vicinity of the lake of Van to the Cilician Gates;[3] and most of the other Egyptian names mentioned in connection with *Naharayn*, are thus to be found, I think, in Northern Syria, or just within the mountain range. For instance, *Saenkar*, instead of being compared with Singar, which was a name not earlier than the Roman period, is in all probability the *Sangar* of the Cuneiform inscriptions, which was a city of the *Khetta*, or Hittites, near Carchemish or Mabog. There was a small district again, in the same vicinity, of

a description singularly inapplicable to the plains of Mesopotamia (compare Numbers xxii. 5 and xxiii. 7, with Deut. xxiii. 4); and the orthography, moreover, of the Cuneiform *Na'iri*, if that be the same name as *Naharayn* and *Naharaim*, differs essentially from the orthography of *Nahar* "a river." The etymology, indeed, of the ethnic title of *Na'iri* is to be sought, in all probability, in the primitive Armenian rather than in a Semitic tongue.

[3] It would not be very easy to fix the geographical position of *Na'iri* from the Assyrian inscriptions alone, for the name is sometimes used to denote the extreme north-eastern limit of the Assyrian empire, while it is also not unfrequently spoken of in connection with Melitene, Cilicia, and the Mediterranean. Fortunately the monuments of Armenia enable us to verify this extraordinary geographical extension, for we have a tablet of the kings of *Na'iri* as far east as *Dash-teppeh* in the plain of *Miyanddb*, and as far west as *Malatieh* on the Euphrates. The Upper and Lower Seas of *Na'iri* (see Layard's Inscriptions, pl. 12, l. 14) are no doubt the lakes of *Van* and *Urumieh*, and the latter town even seems to be spoken of under the name of "*Hurumi* of *Bitan*," (compare the *Vitii* of Strabo,) belonging to "the kings of *Na'iri*." (See Sardan. Annals, col. 2, l. 13.) It would require a separate essay to embody all the numerous notices of *Na'iri* which occur in the Assyrian inscriptions.

the name of *Assuri*, which suits the Egyptian notice of that country far better than the great kingdom of Assyria. The *Khami* and the *Katu* of the hieroglyphic records are both to be found in the mountains north of Syria. *Tunp* was on the upper Euphrates. The *Tahai* of the Egyptian tablets are almost certainly the people of *Dayan*, the modern Daïkh; and even a city of *Nuni* is mentioned in the annals of the first Tiglath Pileser, about B.C. 1150, in the Taurus range, which is much more likely to have been the spot where Thothmes III. set up his stela, than the great Assyrian capital on the Tigris, which indeed in all probability was not built until some centuries subsequently.[4]

I shall have opportunities of examining the Asiatic conquests of Egypt in more detail, in a paper which I am preparing, and shall shortly have the honour of reading before this Society, on the early geography of Syria, as preserved to us in the Cuneiform inscriptions. Here it will be sufficient to observe that my own researches lead me to doubt the fact of the Egyptian arms having ever approached the confines of Assyria proper, or indeed of having ever crossed to the east of the Euphrates. The Egyptians were essentially an unwarlike people, and the *Khetta*, or Hittites (the children of Heth), who were the dominant race in Syria from the time of Abraham to the age of Nebuchadnezzar, were never sufficiently brought under the

[4] Most of these names are to be found in the "Annals of Tiglath Pileser," published in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xviii. part 1, p. 164, but further illustrations are afforded by the copious annals of later monarchs which will be duly quoted in my paper on the "Geography of Ancient Syria."

yoke to admit of the Egyptians pushing through their country to the regions beyond the Euphrates to the eastward, or beyond the range of Taurus to the north.

There are some isolated points of evidence however which show that there was a certain connection between the races who inhabited the valleys respectively of the Nile and the lower Euphrates, from the very earliest times. Macrobius (Sat. lib. i. c. 23) has a story, which cannot be altogether fabulous, of a certain Egyptian king, named Senemure, or Senepos, having sent an image of the Sun-god from the temple of his own city of Heliopolis, to be set up by an Assyrian king, Deleboris, in the temple of the Sun, in the Assyrian city of Heliopolis. The names are given both of the Assyrian ambassador, Opias, and of the Egyptian priest, Partemetis, who conveyed the image to Assyria; and the god is said to have been brought back under certain peculiar circumstances which were well known, but which Macrobius did not think it worth while to interrupt his mythological dissertation by narrating. Now at an early period of my Assyrian studies, I had conjectured that Deleboras might possibly represent the name of an Assyrian king, which I then read phonetically as Divanubar; but that identification has been long since abandoned. The king's name I now read as Shalmanubar, or more probably as Shalmanusar; and as the said king, whose annals are given in the black obelisk in the British Museum, made but one rapid expedition into Babylonia, for the purpose of supporting one brother against another in a disputed succession, and returned after taking the cities of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha, it is not likely that he should have occupied himself in regulating the

worship of Heliopolis. Another explanation, which is plausible, if not entirely satisfactory, is now therefore suggested in preference. Although Macrobius mentions Assyria, he probably meant Babylonia, the two names being used almost indifferently by Western writers; for while there was no Heliopolis on the upper Tigris, there were two great cities sacred to the Sun in the lower country. The most famous of these two, that indeed which is specially named Heliopolis by Berosus, and which in the inscriptions has the title of the "City of the Sun," had the specific local name of *Tsibur* or *Tsibar*,[5] and thus nearly reproduces the name of a Babylonian king, *Tsibir*, who is known from the inscriptions as a monarch of the ante-Assyrian period.[6] Supposing then that the names of *Tsibir* and *Tsibur* are connected, the city being named after the king, who may have rebuilt it and consecrated it to the Sun, we may here have the original of the Latin name of Deleboras, or as it appears in some MSS. of Macrobius, Deboras, the *d* taking the place of the hard sibilant, as in Cadytis for *Khazita*, Ecdippa for *Achzib*, Mygdonius from *Gozan*, etc. There are no means of determining the exact era of Deboras or *Tsibir*, for no

[5] This city of *Tsibur*, or *Tsibar*, is that which was known to the Greeks as Sippara, and in Scripture under the dual form of Sepharvaim. The name was afterwards corrupted into Sura, and the city became very celebrated, during the early centuries of Christianity, as the seat of a Jewish Academy, which at that time pretty well concentrated the learning of the East. The ruins of Sura are still to be seen on the Euphrates a few miles above Babylon.

[6] The great Sardanapalus, in his Annals, col. 2, l. 84, commemorates his restoration of a city, named *Atlil*, in the province of *Zamua*, which had been destroyed in former time by *Tsibir*, king of Babylonia, giving the restored city the name of *Dur-Ashur*.

independent monuments of such a king have been yet discovered, but as he seems to have been one of the latest Babylonian kings of the ante-Assyrian period, he may very well have been contemporary with the Rameses of the Twentieth Dynasty of Egypt, whose prænomens of *Seser-ma-ra* and *Setep-en-ra* have been thought to represent Senemure and Senepos, and who, curiously enough, is the very king who also lent the image of the god Chons for three years to the king of the Bakhten, in order to cure his daughter, who was supposed to be possessed by an evil spirit.

I may add that an Egyptian lion was, a few years back, excavated from the foundations of a house at Baghdad, which had a royal cartouche belonging to one of the early dynasties engraved on the neck. The name cannot be identified, but the relic is a certain proof of connection between Babylonia and Egypt in very remote times. Numerous fragments of ivory and alabaster have also been found at Nineveh, engraved with a name in hieroglyphics, which has been read as *Uben Ra*, or "the shining sun." This name cannot be referred, either in sound or meaning, to any Assyrian king, and it is still a mystery to whom the title alludes, or to what age it belongs. In Egypt proper the same name is found in cartouches of the Shepherd period.

Cuneiform students, and myself among the number, have been heretofore frequently led into error with respect to Egypt, in consequence of the indifferent application of the name of *Muzur*, in the Assyrian inscriptions, to two entirely distinct countries. The true name of Egypt, as known to the Assyrians, seems to have been *Muzur*, a near equivalent of the Hebrew

מצרים, and Arabic مصر; for the Assyrian usually employs the vowel *u* in geographical names, where the Hebrew and Arabic have *i*, and *vice versâ*, as in *Urtsalimmu* for Jerusalem, *Tsamirina* for Shemron or Samaria, *Nia* for No, *Mimpi* for Moph, etc. In the inflected case, however, this name of *Muzur* becomes *Muzri* or *Muzré*, and in that form is undistinguishable, as far as orthography is concerned, from the title of a district, or province, in the Kurdish mountains to the east of Assyria. Careful criticism at the same time may determine in most cases to which country the Cuneiform passage refers; and in now briefly recapitulating the various notices of *Muzur* in the inscriptions, I shall thus endeavour to show which apply to Egypt, and which have reference to the comparatively uninteresting country on the Median frontier.

1. The *Muzur* of the annals of the first Tiglath Pileser (about B.C. 1150),—and this is the earliest historical record of the Assyrian kings,—is certainly the eastern district of that name, and not the great kingdom on the Nile. The mountainous and inaccessible character of the country, and its immediate proximity to Assyria, are decisive on this point; and the geographical names of *Elamun*, *Tala*, *Kharutsa*, *Comani*, *Ayaza*, *Kapsun*, etc.,—which Mr. Fox Talbot, in his translation of the annals, has endeavoured, but with no great success, to torture into some resemblance to Egyptian names,—can for the most part be identified, from other sources, among the mountains of the Carduchi.

2. The next notice of *Muzur* occurs on the broken obelisk in the British Museum,[7] which contains on one

[7] This inscription is given in the series recently published by me for the Trustees of the British Museum. Plate 28.

side the record of a hunting expedition of the great Sardanapalus in Syria. Here, after recording the king's wonderful success in capturing and destroying a vast number of wild animals, which are named in the following order,—wild bulls and buffaloes (?), lions, wild sheep, the grey stag (or *marâl*), fallow-deer, wild goats (or ibex), leopards, tigers, bears, wolves, jackals, wild hog, hares, antelopes, foxes, hyænas, wild asses, and a few others which have still to be identified,—it is said that the king of *Muzur* sent as a present a great *pagût*, a *namtsu*, . . . a horned fish of the river, and other produce of the "Great Sea." As the title of the "Great Sea" is always applied to the Mediterranean, and as the Assyrian king was, at the time of receiving the presents, in southern Syria, I presume that the king of *Muzur* in this passage really means the king of Egypt, and that the animals sent were natives of the valley of the Nile, though I have no means of deciding whether the names of *pagût* and *namtsu* applied to the hippopotamus, or rhinoceros, or giraffe, or some other rare African animals. From another inscription, however, of the same king, we find that on a later occasion he received both old and young *pagûts*, or *pagâts*, among the tribute furnished by the cities of Phœnicia, and that he placed them in the menagerie park at Nineveh, where they throve and bred. The Egyptian king who furnished the first *pagût* to Sardanapalus, must have belonged to the Twenty-second Dynasty, which is known to have cultivated a close connection with Assyria, but the dates are not sufficiently determined to enable us to identify the royal donor.[8]

[8] It is certainly most natural to suppose the *Pagût* or *Pagât* to

3. The next notice of *Muzur*, in chronological order, is that contained in the third epigraph upon the famous Black Obelisk in the British Museum, which belongs to *Shalmanusar*, the son of Sardanapalus. Here the tribute of *Muzur* is said to consist of double-humped camels, a bull from the river *Tsakéya*, an animal with an horn (which is probably a rhinoceros), some species of deer, elephants, and apes or baboons, and the animals themselves are, as it is well known, depicted on the marble. Now when I first translated this document, eleven years ago, being ignorant at that time of an eastern *Muzur*, I supposed these animals to have been brought to *Shalmanusar* from Egypt. All the animals however seem to belong to the far East. The double-humped camel is a native of Bactria. The river *Tsakéya* may represent the Jaxartes, or river of the Sacæ. The rhinoceros, the elephant (which is of the Asiatic and not of the African type), and the apes, must have been brought from India. It must be remembered too that *Shalmanusar*, although he was engaged in repeated wars within the Median frontier, and thus in all probability overran the eastern *Muzur*, of which however the name, strangely enough, is never mentioned in his annals, did not approach the confines of Egypt nearer, apparently, than the neighbourhood of Hamath. He was engaged in conflict both with Benhadad and Hazael, and received offerings from the Phœnician sea-ports, and even from Jehu, king of Samaria, but he does not seem to have ever even threatened Egypt, and there is no conceivable reason

represent the Elephant, but in the obelisk the name used to denote that animal is *Baziat*. The etymology of both of these names is obscure.

therefore why the reigning Pharaoh should have sent him tribute.

Under the three next reigns, I am not aware that any notice is to be found in the Assyrian annals, either of the eastern or the western *Muzur;* and the inscriptions of Shalmaneser which follow next in chronological order, are too much mutilated to admit of a minute examination.

It is from the time of Sargon that the Cuneiform notices of Egypt become frequent and regular. This monarch, whose native name was *Sargina*, or "the established king," ascended the throne of Nineveh in B.C. 721. His first exploit was the capture of Samaria and the deportation of a portion of its inhabitants to Assyria; the capital of Israel, however, took the first occasion to throw off the Assyrian yoke, and joined with Arpad, *Zimirra*, and Damascus, in a rebellion, which broke out during the very next year, 720–719.[9] *Ilubi'adi*, a pretender to the throne of Hamath, put himself at the head of the confederacy,[10] and engaged the Assyrian forces at the city which is called Aroer in the Bible, but of which the true orthography seems to have been *Gargaru*. *Ilubi'adi* was defeated, and being taken

[9] Compare the Zemarite of Genesis x. 18, joined with the Arvadite and the Hamathite. Hamath and Arpad are also usually named together in Scripture. Compare 2 Kings xviii. 34; xix. 13, etc.

[10] The name of this king is written indifferently as *Ilu*bi'adi and *Yahu*bi'adi, the first element being the name of God, or perhaps of *a* god, who was in Assyrian known by the double name of *Yahu* and *Ilu*. This is a very valuable illustration of the indifferent employment in Genesis of the terms of *Elohim* and *Jehova* for the true God, as worshiped by the Jews. It is embarrassing however that we are thus unable to decide on the true pronunciation of the name of the king of Hamath.

prisoner in the battle, was decapitated; Aroer was burnt, the ringleaders of the rebellion were slain, and a heavy tribute imposed upon the cities engaged in it. The Assyrian forces then continued their march to the south, and encountered an Egyptian army at the city of *Rapikh*, which appears to correspond with Raphia, a frontier position beyond Gaza, well known in later history. The hostile army was led by *Khanunu*, king of Gaza, who seems to have been a tributary of Pharaoh's, and by *Paluhé*, the Tartan, or commander-in-chief of the whole Egyptian army.[11] *Paluhé* fled from the field of battle and escaped, but the Egyptian forces were entirely defeated, and *Khanunu* fell into the hands of the victor. In the abstract record of Sargon's career, it would seem as if the submission of Egypt followed immediately on this victory, and such has been the explanation hitherto adopted; but from the longer inscriptions of Sargon, where the various operations are annalized, we find that in reality several years intervened between this first success and the more formal humiliation of the Egyptian monarch. It was not until his seventh year, or B.C. 715–714, that Sargon again approached the confines of Egypt. On this occasion he was engaged in conflict with the Arabs, and penetrated far into the peninsula, for he is said to have subdued and carried off from the interior of the country the *Tamudi* the *Inadidi*, the *Martsimani*, and the *Khayapa*,[12]

[11] *Paluhé* is no doubt an Egyptian name, and may possibly mean "the Lion;" his title of *Tur-danu*, or *Tartan*, is merely honorific; the term signifies "the high in rank," like the *Alijah* of modern Persian, and where it occurs in the Bible, it should be translated "General," instead of being regarded as a proper name.

[12] The Thamudites are a well-known ancient tribe, belonging to

tribes inhabiting the uncultivated (?) plains of the remote Arabia,[13] who had never before given tribute to Assyria, and to have settled them in Samaria;[14] and it was in consequence of this successful inroad that the neighbouring princes, *Pir'hu* of Egypt, *Tsamsi* Queen of *Arib*,[15] and *It'hamara* the Sabæan, presented their offerings of gold, *isbitarra* (?), horses and camels.

Egypt is again incidentally mentioned in the annals of Sargon's tenth year, B.C. 712–711; and in this second passage the country is said to be under the yoke of Æthiopia; so that we are able, from a comparison of

the central portion of Arabia, but who, according to native tradition, were lost in remote antiquity. As they still occupied seats somewhere to the south of Arabia Petræa, in the time of Ptolemy the Geographer, they could not have been removed bodily to Samaria by Sargon. The other names are obscure. In *Inadidi* we probably see the duplication of the last radical, as in *Libnan* for Libanus, *Yavnan* for *Yavun*, or *Yun*, *Ashdud* for Azotus, etc., but I know of no ancient tribe of the name of *Yanad*. *Inadidi* may however simply mean the "fugitives," or even "nomades." Of the *Martsimani* and *Khayapa* I can offer no explanation whatever.

[13] The name of *Arbaya* for Arabia is here written quite differently from *Arib*, which is the name uniformly used in the inscriptions for the country stretching from the Dead Sea to the Ælanitic Gulf, and comprising Idumæa, Moab, and the whole extent of Arabia Petræa. I am obliged therefore to suppose that *Arib* is allied to the Hebrew ערב *Arabah*, which was the name applied to the same country, though there is a separate Cuneiform word *Khuribet*, which more properly answers to *Arabah* in its signification of a "desert."

[14] This Arabian colonization of Samaria is a completely new fact in Scripture history, and supplies an important gap, as it explains how Geshem the Arabian came to be associated with Sanballat in the government of Judæa, when the Jews under Nehemiah commenced to rebuild the Temple, and also how we find, at the same time, the Arabians joined with the Ammonites and Ashdodites in the army of Samaria.

[15] The history of the *Arib* of the Cuneiform inscriptions cannot be

Assyrian dates, to confine the period of the rise of the Twenty-fifth or Æthiopian dynasty within a narrow margin of three years. The notice of Egypt to which I now refer, occurs in the record of Sargon's Ashdod campaign, which is also mentioned, it may be remembered, in the twentieth chapter of Isaiah. The king *Azuri*, it is said, had been deposed from power in consequence of fomenting rebellion against Assyria, and his younger brother, *Akhimita*, had been set in his place. The Syrians however would not obey this new chief, but raised another officer, named *Yavani*, to the government. Sargon then, without waiting to assemble his army, proceeded with a light force to Ashdod, upon which *Yavani* fled away and escaped to the dependencies of Egypt, *which were under the rule of Æthiopia.*

Now it is very interesting to observe that the date which it thus eliminated from the independent inscriptions of Assyria for the Æthiopian conquest of Egypt, coincides almost exactly with the chronology obtained from the historians and monumental records of Egypt. A comparison of the Florence column with the stelæ discovered by Mons. Mariette, in the Apis tombs, has determined that the reigns of the Pharaoh Necho of the Bible, and of his father Psammetichus commenced respectively in B.C. 610 and B.C. 664. It is also found that Tirhakeh, the Æthiopian, immediately preceded

conveniently discussed in a mere note. The country was usually governed by Queens (three of such Queens indeed are mentioned in the inscriptions), and as *Arib* is here immediately connected with the Sabæans, I conjecture that the Queen of Sheba who came to Solomon reigned over the same region. The geographical position of *Arib*, in reference to Palestine, would sufficiently explain her title of "Queen of the South," without bringing her from the southern extremity of the Arabian peninsula.

Psammetichus, and reigned twenty-six years, so that he must have ascended the throne in B.C. 690. Now Manetho either assigns twenty-two or twenty-four years to the two preceding reigns of the Shebeks, or Sabacos (the numbers being given differently by Africanus and Eusebius), and the Æthiopian dynasty must therefore, according to this calculation, have commenced either in B.C. 712 or 714, both of which numbers are within the margin ranging from the seventh to the tenth year of Sargon. Considering the entire independence of the dates which are thus examined, the coincidence of result is certainly remarkable, and tends to the mutual verification of the two distinct systems of Assyrian and Egyptian chronology; and from such a verification we shall be able, I think, in the sequel, to rectify some very important points of Scripture chronology.

Sargon's annals contain no other allusion to Egypt, except in reference to the horses which the Assyrian king received from *Pir'hu*, and which he preserved with much care in the royal stables at Nineveh.

There is however a notice of the eastern *Muzur* which is decisive as to the geographical position of the country, for in describing the building of the palace of *Dur-Sargina*, or *Khursabad*, from whence come almost all the inscriptions of this king, it is said that the city where the palace was built, and where the kings of Assyria had reigned for three hundred and fifty generations, had been previously called *Magganubba*, and was situated on a mound, above Nineveh and at the foot of the mountains of *Muzur*, evidently the great range overhanging Assyria to the eastward.

Before quitting the subject of the inscriptions of Sargon, it may be worth while to consider who the

*Pir'hu* could have been, that gave the offerings to the Assyrian king in conjunction with the queen of *Arib* and the chief of the Sabæans. The most natural explanation of the name, and that which I have hitherto always adopted, is that it is the simple Assyrian transcription of the Hebrew פרעה, which we pronounce as Pharaoh; but it is most extraordinary that, if *Pir'hu* were thus a mere honorific title, common to all the Egyptian kings, it should not be applied in the Cuneiform inscriptions to some other monarch of the line; instead of being restricted, as I believe it to be, to this single individual. To all appearance, it is used as a distinct proper name; and the question thus arises whether *Pir'hu* may not rather represent the name which, although it has not yet been found, I believe, on the monuments, is given as Bocchoris by Manetho and Diodorus. One thing at any rate appears certain, that in the seventh year of Sargon, or B.C. 715–14, a native king was on the throne of Egypt (and reigning apparently in the Delta, or he would hardly have been mixed up with Arabians and Sabæans); and such a king, it would seem, can be no other than "Bocchoris the Wise," who had established his capital at Sais. But if such an identification be admitted, what are we to say to the So, king of Egypt, who had been in communication with Hoshea, king of Samaria, several years previously? Unfortunately the Assyrian annals of Shalmaneser are almost entirely destroyed, owing apparently to the animosity displayed against him by the family of Sargon, who dispossessed him of the throne; so that although we have in the inscriptions the name of Hoshea, king of Samaria, and some account apparently of his rupture with the Assyrians,

we can learn nothing positive of the connection between the Israelites and the Egyptians antecedent to the siege of Samaria. I am at the same time entirely sceptical as to the identity of So with Shebek, the first king of the Æthiopian Dynasty. There is nothing either in the historical or prophetical books of Scripture to indicate the conquest of Egypt by the Æthiopians prior to the reign of Sargon. The evidence of the inscriptions is directly opposed to such a notion. The name of So again is very doubtful, for the Septuagint gives the Greek form of Σηγωρ; and even if שוא be the correct orthography, it requires, I think, a greater amount of violence than is admissible in rendering Egyptian names in Hebrew characters, to force the name into an identity with Shebek. I should rather think myself that So meant the king of Sais, and that the king of Egypt to whom Hoshea applied for support against Shalmaneser was thus the same *Pir'hu*, or Bocchoris, who a few years later gave tribute to Sargon.

I now pass on to the reign of Sennacherib. The canon of Ptolemy, in fixing the date of Belibus at Babylon, whom Sennacherib placed on the throne in his own first year, determines the accession of the Assyrian monarch in 703–2.

In Sennacherib's third year, or B.C. 701–700, the Assyrian arms again came in contact with those of Egypt. The annals say, at the close of the account of the conquest of Syria, that "the princes and chiefs and people "of Ekron, who had revolted against *Padi* their king, a "faithful servant to Assyria, and had sent him bound "with fetters of iron to Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, "to be destroyed, made their submission to the kings

"of Egypt, and sought for their support. Then the "troops and the archers and the chariots and horses "of the king of *Milukha*,[16] or Æthiopia, an innume- "rable host, came to their assistance. In the neigh- "bourhood of the city of *Altaqu* they took up position "before me and arranged their forces. With the help "of the god Asshur, my lord, I fought with them and "defeated them. The lords of the chariots and the "young men of the king of Egypt, and the lords of the "chariots of the king of *Milukha* (or Æthiopia), in the "course of the battle fell alive into my hands. The "cities of *Altaqu* and *Tamna* I attacked and took. "And I then went on to Ekron, and the princes and "chiefs who had been concerned in the revolt I took "and slew, and exposed their carcases on the walls "throughout the whole circuit of the city." The continuation of the record of Sennacherib's third year, referring exclusively to his contest with Hezekiah of Jerusalem, need not be here translated.[17]

The only inference of importance which I draw from this notice is that in B.C. 700, or fourteen years after the Æthiopian conquest, there were still subordinate native kings presiding over the nomes of Lower Egypt. The petty chiefs to whom the Ekronites applied for succour are not included, it would seem, in the lists of Manetho, for the short reigns of Stephinathis and Nechepsus who preceded Necho, will not reach up to

[16] Milukha is the name rendered by the Greeks as Μερόη, and pretended to be adopted from the sister of Cambyses.

[17] See the 'British Museum New Inscriptions,' pl. 38, col. 2, l. 69, to pl. 39, col. 1, l. 3. It was through my discovery of this passage in a MS. book of Mr. Layard's, in August, 1851, that a sure light was first thrown on the identification of the Assyrian Royal Names and the general chronology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

the year 700. The Æthiopian lord paramount, however, who sent his troops to oppose the Assyrians, must have been, I think, the second Shebek, or Sabaco; and it is not at all improbable that the clay impressions of seals bearing the cartouche of Shebek, which Mr. Layard found in the palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik, and which are now in the British Museum, may have been brought back from this successful Syrian expedition, in which the Egyptians were really discomfited by the Assyrians. The more indeed that we examine this period of history, and the more light that is thrown on it from the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, the more certain does it become that there must have been two distinct expeditions conducted by Sennacherib into Palestine, in both of which he came in contact with the Egyptians and Æthiopians. The first expedition, which was successful, and which is that described in verses 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the eighteenth chapter of the second book of Kings, must have taken place in B.C. 700, in the third year of Sennacherib; and, if Hezekiah had already reigned six years when Samaria was taken, in the twenty-seventh year of that king's reign. The second expedition, which was unsuccessful, and which is that described *from* the 17th verse of the same chapter of Kings, must have occurred at least ten years later, for Tirhakeh of Æthiopia was certainly mixed up in it. Indeed it seems highly probable, from the story told to Herodotus in Egypt, of the fieldmice devouring the quivers and bowstrings of the Assyrians, that the Æthiopian army contributed to the discomfiture of Sennacherib before Jerusalem; and the said Tirhakeh did not ascend the throne of Egypt till B.C. 690. I should be inclined myself to

place the second expedition as late as B.C. 688, because, in the first place, Sennacherib lived till 680, and it is evident from the Scripture narrative, that his miserable defeat must have occurred at an advanced period, if not at the very end, of his reign; and because, in the second place, Hezekiah is distinctly said to have survived his illness fifteen years; and Merodach Baladan of Babylonia, who sent messengers to inquire about this illness, was driven from his country by Sennacherib in B.C. 702, and never again set foot in Babylon.[18] At any rate, by this exhaustive process we can confine the second expedition of Sennacherib, and the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem, within the limits of B.C. 690, which was the date of Tirhakeh's accession, and B.C. 687, which is the date of Hezekiah's death, obtained by reckoning fifteen years from the period of that illness, which must have occurred previous to Merodach Baladan's expulsion from Babylon in B.C. 702. The result of this calculation however will be to give to Hezekiah a reign of thirty-nine years instead of twenty-nine as in Scripture, and we must further suppose that his life was only just sufficiently prolonged to enable him to witness the realization of the promise given him at the time of his repentance, that Jerusalem should be miraculously preserved from the hand of the Assyrian.

The annals of Esar-Haddon are now to be examined. Those annals ought to furnish us with important matter regarding Egypt, for there is unequivocal evi-

[18] See the Babylonian campaign described in the first year of Sennacherib's Annals, Brit. Mus. Series, pl. 38, col. 1. After his expulsion from Babylon, Merodach Baladan withdrew to Southern Chaldæa, and subsequently sought refuge in Susiana, where he died.

dence of the Assyrians at this period having overrun the valley of the Nile. Unfortunately, however, the cylinders of Esar-Haddon which have been yet found, relate only to his early wars. There is, it is true, a notice among these early wars of his having conquered the country of *Musur*, and planted a colony of the inhabitants in a position "beyond the eastern gate of Nineveh," but the name of the chief town that was captured, commencing with *Arsa-*, is Armenian rather than Egyptian; and the fact also of the colonists being brought to Assyria, together with a set of mountain animals, determines that it is the eastern and not the western *Musur* which is commemorated in the passage referred to. The evidence of Esar-Haddon's Egyptian conquest is to be found in his later monuments. On the back of the slabs at the entrance of his palace at *Nimrud*, or Calah, which entrance is adorned with Egyptian sphinxes, instead of the usual Assyrian bulls, he calls himself "king of the kings of Egypt, and conqueror of Æthiopia;" and the same or corresponding titles are found upon a bronze lion, which was dug up at *Nebi Yunus*, opposite to Mosul, and also on the slabs of *Sheref Khan*, which was a palace that he built, late in life, for the residence of his eldest son, *Asshur-bani-pal*. From the annals also of the last-mentioned king, I shall presently be able to furnish some details of Esar-Haddon's proceedings in Egypt.

Esar-Haddon is well known from Ptolemy's canon to have succeeded his father Sennacherib in B.C. 680, and has been conjectured to have had but a short reign of thirteen years over the united kingdom of Assyria and Babylonia, Saosduchinus being given in the canon as king of Babylon in B.C. 667; and the Egyptian dates,

as I shall presently show, very nearly confirm this calculation. Tirhakeh, indeed, or Taracus, who ascended the throne of Egypt and Æthiopia in B.C. 690, and who is shown from one of the Apis stelæ to have reigned twenty-six years, appears from the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal*, recently discovered, to have lived up to the second or third year of that monarch's reign, which, supposing *Asshur-bani-pal* to have succeeded his father Esar-Haddon in B.C. 667, would thus give for the date of the Æthiopian king's death and the accession of Psammetichus, B.C. 665–64, the same numbers, as nearly as possible, as are obtained from the Egyptian monuments.

Nothing has been yet found in the Assyrian inscriptions to verify the names of Ammeris, or Stephinathis, or Nechepsus, who appear in the lists of Manetho as the three first monarchs of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty; but of the fourth king, Necho, the father of Psammetichus, we have a very detailed notice; and, judging from this notice, we may feel pretty sure that all the kings in question were mere viceroys of Lower Egypt, under the Æthiopians, the two first, Ammeris and Stephinathis, reigning at Memphis, while Sabaco and Tirhakeh were in the upper country, and while Sennacherib was king of Assyria, and the two last, Nechepsus and Necho, whose united reigns only amounted to fourteen years, being contemporary with Esar-Haddon, and being continued as governors of the lower country during the wars between that king and Tirhakeh. We shall find indeed presently, that when *Asshur-bani-pal* ascended the throne of Assyria in B.C. 667-66, Tirhakeh the Æthiopian was still lord paramount, and Necho was still reigning in Memphis and Sais, at the head of the twenty

provincial governors, among whom were distributed the various cities and nomes of the Delta, and extending up the Nile as high as Thebes. I shall now read a translation of the passage in the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal* relating to Necho and Tirhakeh, and leave the Society to judge whether I am not justified in saying that we have in this passage recovered a lost chapter of the history of Egypt.

*Translation of Passages in the Annals of Asshur-bani-pal, relating to Egypt.*

"In my first expedition I went to the countries of *Muzur* and *Milukha* (Egypt and Meroe or Æthiopia). On a former occasion, my father, *Asshur-akh-idanna* (Esar-Haddon), king of Assyria, had collected his forces, and had gone to that country. He had defeated the troops of *Tarqú*, king of *Kuts* (Taracus, or Tirhakeh, king of Cush, or Æthiopia); he had put to flight his officers and had subdued the whole country of *Muzur* and *Kuts;* he had plundered incalculable spoil of *Tarqú*, and had taken the city of . . . . (name lost), his capital city, where he reigned, and had added the whole country to the government of Assyria; he had destroyed all the old cities, and had then a second time rebuilt them and named them afresh; he had also appointed officers as kings and governors of these cities, and had caused them to dwell in them, and had imposed on them the tribute of his empire, making the city of *Mempi* (or Memphis) the seat of government."

(This passage is taken from two mutilated fragments, one-half of the lines being defective throughout, and it is thus difficult to make any connected sense of it. The verbs are however throughout in the third person,

and seem to me everywhere to refer to the past actions of Esar-Haddon.)

A hiatus of some length follows, which, unfortunately, there are no means of effectively filling up, as one small fragment only has been yet discovered, referring to this portion of the expedition. I understand, however, from the fragment in question, that *Asshur-bani-pal*, before leaving Nineveh, had heard of *Tarqú* having reconquered Egypt; that when the Assyrian forces arrived in Egypt, the kings, and the governors, and the princes, and the chiefs, who had been raised to power by Esar-Haddon, and had been driven away by *Tarqú*, sided with the Assyrians, and that *Asshur-bani-pal* advanced, with their help, to the city of *Kar-banit* (perhaps Serbonis). *Tarqú*, king of *Muzur* and *Kuts*, hearing of the progress of the expedition, then assembled his men of war, and sent them to oppose the invaders. From this point the inscription is continued uninterruptedly, with the mutilation of a few words only, for some fifty lines, and we thus obtain a passage of very considerable interest, both historically and geographically. I translate literally.

"In the service of *Asshur*, chief of the great gods, my lords, I engaged with his wide-spreading army, and defeated his troops. *Tarqú*, being in the city of Memphis, heard of this defeat of his army. The terror of the god *Asshur* overpowered him, and the fear of the might of my empire overwhelmed him, so that he removed the images of the gods of his country, and having left the city of Memphis, he fled, in order to save his life, to the city of *Ni'a* (No, or Thebes). This city also I took, and having refreshed my forces, I placed them within it."

"1. *Niku*, king of the city of *Mimpi* and *Tsai* (Memphis and Sais).
2. *Sar-étik-dairi*, king of *Zi'anu* (Zoan, or Tanais).
3. *Pisankhur*, king of *Natkhu* (the isle of Natho).
4. *Pakrur*, king of *Pi-sabat*.
5. *Pukkunanniapi*, king of *Khattirib* (Athribis).
6. *Nakh-ké*, king of *Khinins* (Henes, or Khenes).
7. *Puthu-basti* (Petubastes), king of *Zaka* . . . .
8. *Hunamuna*, king of *Nala* . . . .
9. *Kharziyésu*, king of *Zapnu* . . . .
10. *Puhu-aima*, king of *Bindi* (Mendes?).
11. *Tsutsinqu* (Sesonchis), king of *Pu* . . . .
12. *Minakhti*, king of *Pu* . . . .
13. *Pukkunanniapi*, king of *Akh* . . . .
14. *Ipti-kharthésu*, king of *Pisatti-khurunp*.
15. *Nakhti-khuru-antsini*, king of *Pi-sabthi-nut*.
16. *Pukur-ninip*, king of *Pakh-nut*.
17. *Zikha*, king of *Siyaút* (Siyout, or Lycopolis).
18. *Laminta*, king of *Khimun* (Chemnis, or Panopolis).
19. *Ispi-mathu*, king of *Tain* (Thinis).
20. *Mantimiankhé*, king of *Ni'a* (No, or Thebes).

"These kings, governors, and princes (*sarin*, *simin*, *va kipani*), whom the father who begot me had appointed to power throughout the land of Egypt, and who, from the fear of *Tarqú*, had abandoned their governments and fled, returned to their respective posts, and I reappointed each of them in his government. The country of *Muzur* and *Kuts* (Egypt and Æthiopia), which the father who begot me had conquered, I thus gained a second time; and I strengthened the chiefs more than formerly, and bound them in a covenant. Then with much gain and a heavy spoil, I returned victoriously to Nineveh.

"Afterwards these kings, whom I had severally appointed, lapsed from their allegiance." (On an imperfect duplicate fragment it is said that the insurrectionary movement was commenced by *Niku* and *Pakrur*, the respective kings of *Mimpi* and *Pi-sabat*.) "They did not observe the worship of the great gods, they neglected their duties, they inflated their hearts, they trusted to their strongholds, and organized their armies."

(A passage of considerable length follows, describing he progress of the revolt, the communication of the malcontents with *Tarqú*, the measures adopted by the commanders of the Assyrian garrisons for restoring order, the seizure and imprisonment of many of the rebel leaders (*Niku* being again named), the punishment of the cities in the Delta chiefly implicated, Sais, *Bindi* or Mendes (?), and Zoan, etc. Many of the paragraphs contained in this passage are of so very difficult and novel a construction that I cannot venture at present on a literal or connected translation. The narrative, moreover, breaks off suddenly, owing to the defective state of the cylinders, and we are thus left in doubt as to the fate of *Tarqú* and *Necho*. Reverses, however, must have been subsequently sustained by the Assyrian garrisons; for when the narrative recommences, we find a chief of the name of *Urdamané* ruling in Egypt, not as king, but as a lieutenant, probably on the part of *Tarqú*). The history is thus continued:—

"In my second expedition I again bent my way to the country of *Muzur* and *Milukha*. *Urdamané* heard of the progress of my expedition, in which I trampled victoriously on the land of Egypt. Having left the city of Memphis, in order to save his life, he fled away

to the city of *Nî'a* (No, or Thebes). The kings, the governors, and the princes whom I had before placed throughout the land of Egypt, came to my presence, and kissed my yoke. I then marched in pursuit of *Urdamané*. I reached the city of *Nî'a*, his stronghold. The fear of my powerful array of battle prevailed, so he left the city of *Nî'a*, and fled away to the city of *Kipkip*.[19] This city I besieged; by the power of *Asshur* and *Istara* it fell into my hands. Gold and silver and precious stones, the wealth of his palace of every sort, dyed garments, captives, male and female, two . . . . . jet or ebony, and ivory, etc., for the adornment of the gate of my hall of audience, I carried off to Nineveh. The spoil of the expedition was beyond calculation. Then I executed *Urdamané* in the city of *Nî'a*, and having appointed governors and exacted hostages, and imposed the tribute of my empire, I returned to Nineveh."

(The latter portion of this passage is very imperfect, and the sense can only be conjectured, but the phrases are apparently of the standard type, and there is not much chance therefore of error in restoring the defective words.)

Now there can be no doubt but that this is genuine history, and that it is important in many points of view. The names, both of the kings and of the cities where they ruled, are highly interesting, as illustrative in some cases of Greek and Hebrew orthography, and as showing in others that the ordinary pronunciation in Egypt in the seventh century B.C., resembled the later Coptic rather than the grammatical forms of

[19] This place should be higher up the river than Thebes, but I have sought in vain for its Egyptian or Greek representative.

hieroglyphic writing. I shall therefore examine the names in regular order.

1. *Niku* or Necho, the father of Psammetichus, and grandfather of Pharaoh Necho, is said to have reigned at Memphis and Sais. The Cuneiform *Mimpi* for Memphis is exactly the Coptic Ⲙⲉⲙⲫⲓ and Arabic منف, *Minf*, and departs widely from the hieroglyphic *Mennufr*. *Tsai*, also, is exactly the Greek Sais and Coptic ⲥⲁⲓ. The name of *Neku* occurs in the hieroglyphs, but the signification is doubtful.

2. The name of the second king is Assyrian, but is doubtfully read. It is probably *Sar-etik-dairi* or *Sar-sabad-dairi*, the middle element being a monogram with many different powers and senses. The king himself had been thirty years previously employed by Sennacherib in the government of Ascalon, and his father, *Rukibut* (the charioteer ?), is mentioned in the earlier period of Shalmaneser, in connection with *Tsamsi*, the sun-worshiper, queen of *Arib*. The name of the city of *Zi'anu*, nearly reproduces the Hebrew Zoan and Greek Tanis, and may be compared both with the hieroglyphic T(J)ANI and Coptic ϫⲁⲛⲓ.

3. *Pisankhur* is the hieroglyphic PRE-SAN-HAR, the son of Horus; *Natkhu* is probably the Isle of Nathu.

4. *Pakrur* of *Pi-sabat* presents many difficulties. The name of *Pakrur* is, I feel pretty sure, Egyptian rather than Assyrian, but the etymology is obscure; and *Pi-sabat*, although signifying the fort *par excellence*, and thus most applicable to a stronghold, is not known in the geography of the Nilitic valley, unless indeed it can be identified with the *Λευκὸν τεῖχος* of the Greeks. As *Pakrur* and *Niku* were associated as leaders of the revolt against Assyria, I should at any rate suppose

*Pi-sabat* to be immediately contiguous to Memphis. Fostat, I may add, answers both in sound and position; but it is not, I believe, an old name.

5. *Pukkunanniapi* is a title which occurs in two instances, and ought therefore to be sufficiently intelligible: but beyond the name of *Api*, or Apis, at the end of the word, nothing can be made of it. The city of *Khattirrib*, or Athribis, gave its name to a nome; in Coptic it is ⲁⲑⲣⲏⲃⲓ.

6. The name of *Nakh-ké* is also unintelligible; but *Khinins* is in all probability the חנס of Scripture, otherwise called Heracleopolis. The Arabic form was اهناس.

From 7 to 13 the geographical names are all imperfect, but I should expect to find the cities which they indicate in a regular ascending series along the Nile. The proper names of the kings admit more or less of explanation.

7. *Puthu-basti* is the Peto-bastis of Manetho; PET-SA-BAST in hieroglyphics, signifying "the approved son of Bubastis."

8. *Hunamuna:* the last element is no doubt the god Ammon.

9. *Kharziyésu* seems to be HAR-SA-HES, "Horus, son of Isis."

10. *Puhu-aima* cannot be explained, but is Egyptian.

11. *Tsutsinqu* is exactly the Sesonchis of Manetho, and Sheshenk of the hieroglyphics.

12. In *Minakhti*, the last element means "strong."

13 is the unintelligible word *Pukkunanniapi*, for the second time.

14. In *Ipti-khar-tésu* we seem to have the names of Phtah, Horus, and Isis; and in the first element of

the geographical name of *Pisatti-khurunp*, where he reigned, we seem to have the hieroglyphic *Pi-saxa*, which was the native name of Diospolis Parva.

15. The fifteenth name is *Nakhti-khuru-antsini*, of which the first two elements answer to *Nekhti* (the strong) and *Har* (Horus) of the hieroglyphics; and the geographical name of *Pi-sabdinut* would mean "the fort of the god," as *Pakh-nut*, the next name, would stand for "the city of the god," though neither of such names are known in Egyptian geography.

16. *Pukur-Ninip*, for the sixteenth king, who reigned at *Pakhnut*, is undoubtedly an Assyrian name, signifying "the offspring of Ninip," or Hercules.

The four last geographical names are found in regular order along the Nile, from south to north. *Siyáút* is the SSAUT of the hieroglyphics, Coptic CIOOTE and Arabic اصيوط, answering to the Lycopolis of the Greeks.

*Khimun* is KHEMMEN in the hieroglyphs, ϫⲙⲙⲓⲛ in Coptic, and Panopolis in Greek, and اخميم in Arabic.

*Tain* is TENEE in the hieroglyphs and *Θῖνις* in Greek, which gave its name to the Thinite nome; and *Ni'a* is the No-Amon[20] of the Bible, which was the Semitic name for the great Thebes, though it seems to have been unknown in the country.

Of the names of the four last kings, *Zikha* hardly seems to be Egyptian. *Laminta* may be for RA-MEN-TER, an old prænomen occuring at this period, and referring to *Men*, the god of Chemmis. *Ispi-matu* is very like an Egyptian compound, but gives no intelligible sense;

[20] The etymology of this name has never yet been satisfactorily determined, but perhaps *nu* or ⲛⲁ, signifying "the place" *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, gives the most reasonable explanation.

and even the compound *Manti-mi-ankhé*, though it signifies "the living one, beloved of Mentu," is not known as a proper name.

There seems every reason to believe that the geographical order is from north to south. Memphis, Sais, and Tanis, are first mentioned, as of most importance. Then follow the great cities of the Delta, Natho, Pi-Sabat, and Athribis; and afterwards, from Khenes to Thebes, it is probable that the cities are enumerated along the banks of the river in direct succession, though it is impossible to read the names of many of them; and several which can be read, are not to be identified, as they were probably the mere temporary titles which were imposed by the Assyrian conquerors. It is only proper to state, that in this examination of the historical and geographical names of Egypt which occur in the inscription of Asshur-bani-pal, I have mainly followed the authority of Mr. Poole, in which I believe Mr. Birch also concurs.

I now close my paper with a few general remarks. The historical and chronological results of the extract from the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal*, are, I think, as important as the etymological and geographical considerations furnished by our examination of the proper names are curious. It is no small thing to have rescued from oblivion a chapter in the life of Tirhakeh, or Taracus, who is classed by Megasthenes among the greatest of Oriental conquerors. It is not less satisfactory to have succeeded in showing how exactly the Assyrian dates agree with the canon of Ptolemy on the one side, and with native Egyptian chronology on the other; for supposing that *Tarqú* died in the third year of *Asshur-bani-pal*, that is, immediately after

the Assyrian king's return from his second Egyptian expedition,—the very same year of B.C. 665–64 will be obtained for the accession of Psammetichus, which has already been determined from the Florence and Apis stelæ, compared with the statements of Herodotus and Manetho. The true explanation, which is further obtained, of the Dodecarchy described by Herodotus, anterior to the accession of Psammetichus, is equally important to the study of history; and even the rectifications which we are able to make of the mistakes of Herodotus, in passing over Tarakus, and giving to Sabaco alone the full period of fifty years which really belonged to the whole Æthiopian dynasty, and in ascribing the death of Necho to the same Sabaco, rather than to his successor *Tarqú*, or Taracus, should be gratifying to all lovers of truth. Lastly, I believe that a service has been done to Biblical criticism, in showing that the events recorded in Scripture, with regard to the mutual relations of Hezekiah, Sennacherib, and Tirhakeh, can be reconciled with the contemporary history of the Assyrians and Egyptians, with no further violence to the Hebrew text, than the simple alteration of the number twenty-nine to thirty-nine, in reference to the length of Hezekiah's reign, and the substitution of Hezekiah's twenty-seventh for his fourteenth year, as the date of Sennacherib's first invasion of Palestine.

## VI.—ON ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES.

BY H. F. TALBOT.

(Read March 13, 1861.)

UNDER this head I propose here to examine several passages which occur in one of the British Museum inscriptions, and which appear to present points of interest.

### (1.) *On the Antiquity of Coined Money.*

Various opinions have been entertained respecting the age and country which first adopted the practice of coining money. According to Herodotus (i. 94) the Lydians are entitled to the honour of this invention. We are assured that no coins have yet been found either in Assyria or Egypt,[1] notwithstanding the zealous researches of antiquarians and the numerous excavations which have been made. Yet the precious metals have been employed, from time immemorial,[2] for effecting

[1] Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' vol. i. p. 684:—"It is certainly most remarkable that among the numerous remains of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquity which have come down to us, not a single coin has been yet found."

[2] Abraham bought the field of Machpelah of Ephron the Hittite, and "weighed to him the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant."—*Ibid.*

the payments necessary in the daily concerns of life. The metal was weighed: the value was of course in proportion to the weight.

Now this was all very well for large payments,—of a hundred talents, for instance, or even of one talent. But how was it in the daily transactions of life between private individuals?—did the seller of a loaf of bread *weigh* the small piece of metal which was offered to him in exchange? Surely the simple expedient must have occurred to some one, of cutting the metal into convenient lumps of moderate size, and stamping on them some mark or symbol which was known to express some determinate value.

I propose in the following pages to examine a passage which I have found on the cylinder of Sargon, which is preserved in the British Museum, and which, if it bears the interpretation which I attribute to it, appears to throw some light upon this difficult subject.

I shall examine minutely the words of the record, in order to enable scholars to judge of the truth of the translation, and to suggest the true interpretation, if the present one should prove to be inaccurate.

The commencement of the inscription on this cylinder is occupied in the usual manner by an enumeration of the victories gained by the king, and the names of the monarchs and cities subdued by him. After which, at line 40, the following passage occurs:—

[40] *kima zigir sumi-ya sha ana nassarikti u mishari su, sutishur la likhi la kabalat simbu inni Ili Rabi.*

[41] *kaship asibut ir shasu ki pi ummati sha yamanu-su, kaspa u takabar ana inni-sun wetaru.*

[42] *assu rikkati la rusie, sha kaship asibut la tsibu: asib mikhar, asib akhar, panu-sun attan sunuti.*

[40] As the great gods have given renown to my name, which is triumphant and victorious, so also have they given to me the government of affairs unconnected with battle and victory.

[41] The money of the inhabitants of this city (as with unanimous voice they decreed) I renewed, both in silver and copper, in accordance with their prayers.

[42] I made coins, but not of gold (which money the people did not wish for), and gave them to the inhabitants, both present and future, to be their own property.

Omitting the words which very frequently occur, and concerning the meaning of which there can be no question, I will examine those which are of rarer occurrence.

*Nassarikti u mishari:* so in the Bellino cylinder (l. 3), Sennacherib calls himself *nassarikti rahim mishari*. But the meaning of this phrase is uncertain.

*Sar mishari*, probably "triumphant king," is a title of Nebuchadnezzar.

*Nassar*, or *natsir*, appears to mean *victory:* also *an eagle*, which is the emblem of victory.

*Nassar* means *victory* also in Egyptian (Bunsen, quoting Rosellini, Monumenti del Culto, plate xviii.). In Coptic, *nosher* is a *vulture*. But the vulture was the emblem of victory in Egypt.

*Sutishur*, regulation, direction, order, or good government, is a common word: ex. gr. *sutishur nisi*, the government of men: *sutishur mutsi mie*, the care or due regulation of the watercourses (Birs Nimrud, col. i. 32), etc. Hence comes *mustishir*, a governor, and the verb *ustishir*, I set in order, etc.

*La likhi*, are things or persons *not warlike*, or *not connected with arms and victory:* from *lihu* or *likhu*,

which occurs in the sense of *warrior* or *conqueror*, as in the name of King Ashur-lihu (Ashur the Warrior: or, Ashur is victorious), who had another name, Ashur-tzu of the same import. Other persons had similar names, as San-tzu, Nebo-tzu, in honour of the gods San and Nebo. When a king relates the capture of a city, he generally adds *likhi-sun ashbit*, "I seized their likhi," perhaps their warriors.

*La kabalat* (or perhaps we should read, *la kabalin*), has much the same meaning: *unwarlike* things or persons, affairs of peace, or, as we should say, "civil affairs," in contradistinction to "military" ones. (The latter had in Assyria a vast prominence.) This expression is derived from *kabal*, battle, a word of continual occurrence. *Simbu*, they have given; *inni*, to me.

N.B. The cuneiform sign for *in* has been misprinted, that for *sar* (a king) having been substituted for it. I do not find a verb *simbu* in Hebrew; but perhaps it was pronounced *subu* (as the name of the god IM was was also sometimes pronounced HU or U).

*Subu*, would be, "they gave abundantly," from Hebrew שבע, *satiare*, to fill full; which is followed by a double accusative of the person and thing. (See Gesenius's Lexicon, p. 955. To save trouble to scholars who may wish to verify the Hebrew words quoted in this paper, I add the page in which they are to be found. The edition employed is the Latin one, Leipzig, 1833.)

*Kaship* I translate "money," from חשב, *kasheb*, to compute or to count (Gesenius, 377). So also in modern Arabic, but pronounced *hasheb*. Doubtless from from the same root as כסם, *kaspa*, "silver," also used in Hebrew for "money" generally. So, in French,

*argent* means "money," whether it be of silver or not.

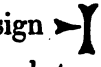
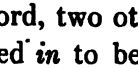
*Ir shasu*, "the city itself;" but we may more conveniently translate "this city."

*Ki*, with : *pi*, a voice, Hebrew פי. We say "a vote," but the French, *une voix*. *Compter les voix*, to count the votes; *pluralité des voix*, etc. So the Germans say *Stimme* (a voice), in the sense of a *vote*. *Einstimmig*, with one voice; *uno ore*, unanimous. *Stimmenmehrheit*, majority of votes, etc.

*Ummati*, same, similar, unanimous: from *umma*, similiter. The sign is an error of transcription for

In another inscription the king imposes a tribute on the provinces with an *equal* (*ummati*) hand; that is, fairly and justly.

*Sha*, which. *Yamanu-su*, they decreed it: from *amán*, אמן, to affirm or ratify. אמנה, *amana*, statutum, decretum.

*Wetaru*, I restored; *ana inni-sun*, according to their prayers. Here some obscurity arises from the ambiguity of the sign  which has, besides its usual value of *Bel*, a Lord, two others, namely *in* and *ad*. I have here supposed *in* to be its value, in which case the plural  will be *inni*, signifying *prayers*, Hebrew חן, *hin* ("preces," Gesenius, 353.) But it may be read *ad*; and if so, the plural  will be *adut*. This also offers a convenient sense; for it may be the Hebrew עדות, *adut*, law; which would give the reading,—

*Kaspa u takabar ana adut-sun wetaru.*

I restored the silver and copper coins to their lawful value.

Perhaps base coin had been issued during the troubles which preceded Sargon's accession to the throne, for he was a usurper.

Proceeding to the next line, the king says:—*Assu*, I made (Hebrew *asah*, עשה, to make).

*Rikkati*, coins: or pieces of stamped money. This is the most important word. I can hardly doubt that it comes from the Hebrew רקע, *rika*, which means, to strike metal with a hammer so as to spread it out. Gesenius explains it, *tundendo expandit, aut diduxit, ut laminam, malleo.* Hence the substantive רקעים, for *laminæ* of metal. Hence also the more forcible verb רקק, of reduplicate form, explained by Gesenius *tutudit; tundendo expandit.*

If these pieces of silver and copper, used for money, were not coins, but pieces of given weight, to what purpose should they be beaten or spread out with hammers? If they were not coins, they were *laminæ;* but surely such would be inconvenient in practice, and unsuited to the affairs of life.

*La rusie*, "not made of gold." *Rusie*, golden, is a common word: it much resembles the Greek χρυσος.

*Sha kaship*, "which money;" *asibut*, "the inhabitants;" *la tsibu*, did not wish for. This important word is the Chaldean *tsiba*, צבא, to wish (see Gesenius, p. 852), whence the substantive *tsibu*, צבו, a wish. The Hebrew takes the form צבה, to wish: usually substituting ה for the Chaldee א. I first perceived the meaning of this word, in an interesting passage in one of the Achæmenian inscriptions (Westergaard's H, line

20), in which Darius, after enumerating many of the nations of his extended empire, adds:

*TSIBBU sha anaku bilemi ashkunussun.*

THEY WISHED that I should enact laws for them.

This agrees with the epithet the Achæmenian kings bestow upon themselves, "the great lawgiver." As to the assertion which the king here makes, viz. that the people *did not wish* for gold coin, the fact probably was, that he had himself taken all the gold and employed it for his own aggrandisement.

*Asib mikhar, asib akhar*, "the present and future inhabitant, or citizen," appears to be in the singular number. Perhaps we ought to add plural endings to the whole, as the words in these inscriptions are frequently written *short* in order to save space and trouble of writing. But the sense would remain the same.

I think *mikhar* means *present*. The preposition *mikhrat*, "opposite," or "near to, and by the side of," is very common. So in German, *die Gegenwart* or *gegenwärtige Zeit*, "the present time," is derived from the preposition *gegen*, "opposite." The Greeks use παρα, as παρεοντα, "things present," in Homer.

*Akhar* is Hebrew אחר, sequens: posterior. אחרית, *akharith*, posteri: posterity or future generations (Gesenius, 41). So *dur akharon*, ætas postera (Ps. xlviii. 14); *yom akharon*, tempus posterum (Prov. xxxi. 25).

The phrases *weshagila panussun* and *panu-sun attan* have the same meaning, viz. "I gave it to them in full possession." These phrases occur very commonly.

*Attan*, I gave: first person singular of the verb *natan*, to give, Hebrew נתן. The Hebrew language also rejects the initial *n* of this verb (as well as of most

others which begin with *n*) from several of the moods and tenses. Thus נתן has for its future יתן, and for its imperative תן, *tan*, or תנה, *tanah*.

*Sunuti*, unto them ; *panu-sun*, as their property.

### (2.) *Temple Worship.*

Immediately after this, follows a very curious but difficult passage. The king, still speaking of his civil rule and his wish to promote the welfare of the citizens, continues thus (line 43) :—

*Alsu banie-su mikhrat uksu :*

*val ana* *. . . . ga*

*u* *Babelaiti inuti nishaeti taliuni*

*as timiki weshakki.*

The meaning of which I believe to be :

I watched over (or protected) their female children until they married. I would not permit handsome damsels of the upper classes to offer prayers and supplications in the temple of the Babylonian goddess.

The first clause is obscure. The verb *alsu* is unknown to me ; but if it is the same as *arsu*, it implies *kindness*. Compare the phrase *rima arsi-su*, " I pitied him." I have therefore translated it, " I protected."

*Uksu*, literally, " they were veiled." כסה, *kasah*, to veil oneself (Genesis xxxviii. 14, etc.); כסות, *kasut*, a veil. This word occurs in Genesis xx. 16 : *kasut ainim*, a veil over the eyes. The interpreters understand that passage to mean, that Abimelech gave Sarah one thousand *shekels* to purchase a veil, that all might see she was a married woman (*ut omnibus pateat*

*te esse marito nuptam*). Gesenius disapproves of this interpretation, but it seems to be borne out by this Assyrian text. If so, we may translate *uksu*, "they were married."

In the name of the second goddess the sign *sar* seems to be an error of transcription for the usual *bab*. The name of the city Babylon, with  added, is used for Babylonian; but here we find the feminine ending *ait* or *aiti* (as in *Kar-Sarginaiti*), and therefore with prefixed it means a Babylonian goddess. Probably Mylitta was meant.

*Inuti*, or *enuti*, fem. plur. "beautiful:" from חן, or חין, *gratia, pulchritudo:* as אבן חן, *lapis pulcher*, a precious stone; יעלת חן, *rupicapra venusta* (Gesen. 336 and 353).

בני חינני, *beni hinni*, handsome children (Buxtorf, 795).

Similarly a woman is said to be *saphirat hin*, "elegans, vel gratiâ prædita" (*ibid.*).

*Nishaeti*, women: fem. of *nishi*, men. So in the East India House inscription, where a new palace is built, and the prayer is uttered, "May this palace ever be inhabited by a race of warlike kings, and of virtuous women, their queens!" *kalati nishaeti, bilat-sun;* where *kalati* is the fem. plur. of Hebrew חיל, virtuous; *ex. gr.* אשת חיל, *uxor proba* (Ruth iii. 11).

*Taliuni*, of the higher ranks: plural of feminine form, from Hebrew *aliun*, עליון, superior.

*Timiki* is used for prayers to the gods in Tiglath Pileser, viii. 26: *timik ikribi-ya lishmiu!* "may they hear the voice of my prayers!" It is used for tears and supplications addressed to a monarch, in Botta,

pl. 151, last line: *In tzupie u timiki wetsalla annima*, "he besought me with sighs and tears." *Wetsalla* is from Hebrew *tsala*, צלא, *oravit: precatus est.*

The etymology of *timiki* is perhaps from Hebrew דמע or דמעה, *lacryma* (in case the ע in this word had the force of *ghain*).

*Weshakki.* This verb is employed in many senses. I have rendered it provisionally, "to permit."

(3.) *Auguries.*

In the same inscription (line 45) we read, that when Sargina was about to build his palace at Khorsabad (in the ruins of which so many rare antiquities have been found) he consulted the prophets and augurs. They named, most probably, some lucky day for laying the foundation-stone of the building. But, what is very curious, we find that the king was prompted by a superstitious feeling to build the palace of such a size that the number of cubits contained in its area corresponded exactly with the number of his own name! —so ancient was the idea that the letters in a man's name, translated into numbers, had a mysterious influence over his destiny, and so far was it from being only a late Jewish superstition. It follows that Sargina must have used habitually an alphabetic and not the cuneiform writing; for can we suppose that numerical values attached to all the cuneiform signs, so that a cuneiform name could be read with certainty as a number?

I will now adduce the original passages, and analyze them.

[Line 45.] .... *ki uthuni eli nabi Makri bieli-ya mahatish ikhibu, epish ir khirie* [*nahli*] *yekbuni.*

[46] *nannimassun la muspili la takilu bakhulati-ya gashati atkie, malthu musikki weshassi.*

[45] From their auguries, on (which) the prophets of the gods my lords greatly relied, they commanded me to build my city by the stream of a river.

[46] In obedience to their oracles, which never fall to the ground, and which are never deceitful, I assembled my gallant soldiers, and selected a vast number of captives.

The account then goes on to describe the building, which was reared mainly by the labour of these captives: the soldiers were there to guard them. Sometimes however we find the soldiers themselves at work by the king's order.

I pass to the examination of the words of the text.

*Uthuni:* Hebrew *utzun* or *hatzun*, חזון, *visio divina*, *revelatio divina*, *oraculum*, Daniel i. 17, etc. (Gesenius, p. 328).

*Eli*, prep. upon.

*Nabi*, prophets: the same in Hebrew.

*Makri*, the gods: properly "their majesties." This word is not so common as *ilu;* but in the great inscription of the East India House, Nebuchadnezzar prepares a splendid gift for his god Marduk, and then brings it to Babylon, and dedicates it "to his majesty," *Makri-su*. Another inscription about a temple ends with a prayer to the god: "This building may thy majesty protect!" *litzuru Makhar-ka!* I am rather inclined to think that the Greeks took hence their *Μακαρες θεοι αιεν εοντες*, at least the Greek language itself affords no etymon for *μακαρ*.

The other words in this line are of frequent occurrence. A river is denoted by a special symbol. I have therefore substituted the Hebrew נחל, which occurs sometimes in the inscriptions.

In line 46, *nannimassun*, may be thus analyzed :— The preposition *ana*, when it begins a sentence, is often shortened into *na*, from rapid pronunciation, as *na shatti*, for *ana shatti*, "in honour of." Hence the word is *ana-annima-sun*, "according to their oracles." *Annam* is Assyrian for the Hebrew *annan*, an oracle, ענן, *augurans, divinans : præstigias fecit : artibus magicis usus est* (Gesenius, 783).

This change of *m* and *n* is frequent. We find, for instance, the Hebrew ענק changed to עמק in Assyrian.

We see that *annima-sun* was pronounced *annimassun*, so *panu-sun*, panussun (belonging to them).

*Ashkunu-sun*, ashkunussun (I appointed for them).

This illustrates the doctrine of *enclitic* particles in Greek. The final *sun* had no accent, consequently a strong accent fell on the penultimate syllable.

*La muspili*, which never falls to the ground : from שמל. This verb is applied in Daniel v. 19, and vii. 24, to kings overthrown and fallen (Gesenius, 1033).

*La takilu*, "which are never deceitful :" from *nakal*, נכל, to deceive (Gesenius, 668). This verb must be carefully distinguished from תכל, in Syriac, "to hope," "to trust." This latter verb is very common in Assyrian, as *wetakkil*, I trusted ; *ittaklu*, they trusted, etc. One of the ancestors of Tiglath Pileser was called Mutakkil Nebo, "the truster in Nebo." And there is a statue of Nebo in the British Museum which contains a prayer for the health of King Pul and his wife Semiramis II., in which the god is invoked by the title of *Nebo-natkil*, "Nebo the Refuge, or the god on whom we trust." Compare the modern Madonna *del soccorso*. But verbs so nearly resembling in sound, yet differing widely in meaning, must sometimes have given rise to equivoques. And in this instance there

seems to be an intentional *play on words* in the statue of Nebo aforesaid; I mean the passage where he is called—

*Nebo natkil, ilu sha nim la ishtakkil.*

Nebo the refuge, the god who never deceives.

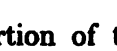
*Bakhulati* are generally "young soldiers," but sometimes only "young men." *Gashati*, valiant; and *atkie*, I assembled, occur frequently.

*Malthu*, an abundance: from Hebrew מלא, to be full, to abound.

*Musikki*, captives, occurs very frequently. The etymology is rather obscure, but I think it must be from חזק, *hezek*, to bind strongly.

*Weshassi*, or *weshatsi*, means "I separated some things from others;" probably from חצה, *khatzeh*, in Assyrian *shatzeh*, to cut off, divide, or separate. Thus when the King leaves his chariots behind, on account of the badness of the mountain roads, he says: *Ana tikkati weshassi*, "I separated them, and left them on the plain."

N.B. In this word the last sign is an error of transcription for

I now proceed to another portion of the text (line 55), where we find a series of numbers. The sign  is four times repeated, then three times; then follow one *vas* (or *sus*), three *kani*, and two *hu*, which last we know to be *cubits*, since the word is explained by *amma* in the East India House inscription (Hebrew *amma*, אמה, a cubit).

I am unable to say what sum these numerals when added together amount to. But there immediately

follows, *Nibit mu-ya*, "the number of my name," *misikhti til-su ashkunu*, "I determined should be the measure of the palace."

*Nibit* is sometimes used for *name* (as *ashkira nibit-su*), and sometimes for *number*, as in the phrase, *la nibi*, numberless.

*Mu*, a name, occurs very frequently. It interchanges with *Sumu* (Hebrew שׁם, a name). In fact *mu* may have been an old Hamitic word which continued to be written so, though pronounced *sumu*. This however is of no importance.

*Misikhti*, the measure, from Hebrew *misikh*, משׁח, *mensus est: mensuravit* (Gesenius, 625).

Bellino, line 52, *amsukh misikhta*, I measured the measure.

*Til*, is sometimes a vast building; sometimes the platform on which it stands.

*Ashkunu*, I fixed, established, settled, etc., is a very common verb. It is the Hebrew שׁכן, but the meaning is more forcible.

The "number of a man's name" brings to mind a passage in the Apocalypse.

Returning once more to the passage quoted from one of the Achæmenian inscriptions, where Darius says that the nations wished him to enact laws for them, it recalls to mind the very similar passage of Virgil, in praise of Augustus:—

> "Victorque VOLENTES
> Per populos DAT JURE."
>
> *Georg.* iv. 561.

I have translated *Lihu* (line 40) a Warrior or Conqueror. In support of this I may refer to line 21 of this inscription, where Sargon calls himself the *Lihu* (or conqueror) of the Pirates of the Ionian Sea.

## VII.—PRELIMINARY TRANSLATIONS OF ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read March 13th, 1861.)

As it would be a work of considerable time and difficulty to give a full analysis, with critical and grammatical notes, of the numerous inscriptions which the British Museum possesses, I have thought it might be interesting to the Society, if I were to select a few of them, and to give an English translation of them. At a future time this might be made more complete, and illustrated with more copious notes.

### 1. *The Inscription on the Monolith of Ashurakhbal, now preserved in the British Museum.*

ASHUR, the great Lord, king of the whole of the great gods.

ANU, the exalted king, bestower of . . . . . .

BITA, king of the Ocean, lord of kings, the (mystical) flying-fish.

SAN, the sovereign, lord of crowns full of splendours.

MARDUK, lord of . . . . .

YEM, the king, . . . . . of the exalted gods.

BAR (or Ninev), hero of heroes . . . . . destroyer of heretics.

NEBO, the Judge, who carries the golden sceptre.

MURILU (*Myrilla?*[1]), lady of the world, wife of Bel, and mother of the great gods.

The god .... king of War.

BEL, the highly exalted: father of the gods: the sire who created me.

The SUN, ruler of Heaven and Earth, inspector of the universe.

ISHTAR, queen of heaven and earth, who is the leader of all heroism.

These great gods are the givers of crowns, and they are the supporters of all Royalty.

The former city of Calah, which Divanurish, king of Assyria, my ancestor, had built; that city had fallen to decay, and its buildings had sunk into ruins and rubbish. That city I built again. And I dug a canal from the Upper Zab river, and I gave it the name of (*Babilat kanik*) the Babilat canal. And I planted beautiful trees along its banks, and trees of utility for every kind of work.

The best of them I kept for Ashur my Lord and the goddesses of my country. I erected palaces with them, and from the foundation to the roof I built and I finished them. A palace for my royal residence and for an eternal remembrance of my reign, I founded within the city. I adorned it: I enlarged it: and with images of bright copper I embellished it. I then made columns, adorned with noble carvings.

With nails of bronze I fastened them together, and I placed them at the gates.

Thrones of cedar and various other precious woods; ornamental ivories, skilfully carved; heaps of silver, gold, lead, copper, and iron, the spoils gained by my valour, which I had brought away from the nations I had conquered: all these treasures I deposited within it.

The king of future days who shall restore its ornaments, and shall replace the written tablets in their places, Ashur will hear his prayers!

[1] Compare the Homeric Μυρινη, evidently an Asiatic goddess, worshipped by the Trojans.

That good king shall never fly before his enemies, nor abandon this palace, my royal dwelling, in the city of Calah. Its columns, its roofs, its splendid images, which are now fixed up within it, shall not be destroyed. They shall not be removed to the city of his enemies, nor to the palace of his foes. Its roofs shall not be broken down, its images shall not be torn off, the sources of the springs which supply it with water shall not be cut off, and its gate shall not be (*thrown down?*). Its chambers of treasure shall not be plundered. Its closed apartments (or *harem*) shall not be burst open with violence. The women, residing in it, of the double service,[2] shall not be insulted, nor with unseemly shameful and immodest treatment be dragged away to the enemy's palace, during the destruction and downfall of their own city.

The king, who shall not injure my palace . . . . . who shall not suffer the front of my throne and my royal dwelling-place to be broken, who shall spare (*i.e.* protect) the face of these my written tablets, and shall not hurt the clay records of my reign: May Ashur, chief of the great gods, who is the supporter of my kingdom, uphold his power over all the nations, and cause them to bow down before the steps of his throne, and the seat of his royalty! May he subject the country of the four nations to his arms! and pour abundant glory over his land during long cycles of years!

But he who shall not spare the face of these my tablets, who shall injure the clay records of my reign, who shall destroy these sculptures and their descriptions, or tear them off, or break them in pieces, or bury them in the ashes, or burn with fire, or drown them in the waters, or who shall remove them from their place and shall throw them down where they will be trampled on by animals, and shall place them in the pathway of the young cattle: or who shall falsify my clay tablets, which are now sculptured with all manner of good and pious words, and shall write on the face of my re-

[2] *i.e.* Those serving the gods and those serving the king, as appears from other inscriptions. Here briefly called *bit tsibitti*, "the double household."

cords anything that is bad and impious: or in the place of these clay tablets shall make other new ones hostile to me, or heretical: or shall hide mine away either in a locked-up apartment, or in some dark place . . . . or shall damage the ivory ornaments with fire: or, for the sake of injuring these my tablets and writings, shall change their divisions for new ones, or shall make alterations in them, so as to confound their meaning: whether he be a nobleman, or a military man, or any one else of my subjects . . . . .

He who shall not spare them but shall trample on them, or who shall deface and destroy them, or who shall scratch any words of derision upon my works, or shall change my name on the sculptures for his own:

May Ashur, the great Lord, the god of Assyria, the lord of all royal crowns, curse his reign and destroy his works! May he shake the foundations of his kingdom! May his own blood-relations and his dearest friends be those who shall admit his foes into his kingdom![3]

## 2. *The Stone of Zaaleh.*[4]

In attempting to interpret this curious inscription on a black stone, found twelve miles from Babylon, there is a difficulty, owing to the fractured state of the stone, and the obscurity of the subject to which it relates. I will therefore make a few preliminary remarks before attempting a version.

It is a *zakut*, or bond, by which certain parties bound themselves (*wezakku*) towards one another. This word is the Hebrew *zak*, זק, *firmiter obligavit*, which has a reduplicate or more forcible form, זקק (see Ges. p. 310).

The fourth line contains the designation of the parties. They were probably the members of two rival trades in Babylon, but the terms employed to express

[3] This inscription contains a few more lines, but they are much defaced.

[4] B. M., pl. 66 of the new volume.

them are unknown to me. Most likely they were sailors or boatmen who dwelt on the borders of the river: *sha pi nahal zaluni*, col. ii. line 2, where פי answers not only to *os*, *oris* in Latin, but to *ora*, a border. Or they may have been two rival factions in the city. I think they wore dresses (*kallie*) of different colours as party emblems. One may have been light blue, as denoted by the sign for "water;" while the other party wore dyed dresses (*thabali*, from Heb. טבל, Ges. 384. *Kallie* I would derive from *khalul*).

If we remember the violent and bloody quarrels which often occurred at Constantinople during the Byzantine empire, and which are related by Gibbon, between the different *colours* into which that factious city was divided, my conjecture will perhaps not be thought improbable.

By this bond they bound themselves no longer to wear these distinctive dresses (*la nasha sun*, "not to wear them"), in order not to create heats and animosities. Perhaps this was done by command of the king, and was therefore one of his very first acts on assuming the reins of government. But the next line is fractured, and there only remains ". . . of the king."

*Translation.*

The Bond, by which, in the city of Babylon, in the month Ash of the first year of Marduk-haddon, the great king; the people called (. . . . .), and those called (. . . . .), bound themselves: with respect to their distinctive dresses of *light blue* and *dyed stuffs*—no longer to wear them—in order not to excite heats and animosities (*in obedience to the commands?*) of the king.

A long fracture of the stone here interrupts the sense:

it evidently contained the names of numerous persons; for the second column, which is perfect, begins with the words—

And all the others who dwell by the riverside, unto the man (A), son of (B), have bound themselves firmly for ever.

At the affixing the seal to this Pi, or declaration (פי), the following persons were present:—

(. . . .) son of Bita-adanna (*i.e.* Bita gave him), judge (*shaphat*, שפט) of the city Isin.

Babilaya (*i.e.* the Babylonian), son of (. . . .).

Bagahaddon, son of Nigatsi, a *shakrus*.[5]

Khigaship-Marduk, son of In-beth-shaggathu-zir-ashbit.

Ardi-Nanaya (*i.e.* worshipper of the goddess Nanaya), son of (. . . .).

Nebo-ramzir (*i.e.* Nebo sustains the race, or loves the family), son of Ardi-Bita-Belnam (worshipper of Bita the glorious?).

And Nebo-haddon, son of Namri:

and they all confirmed it of their unanimous will.

(*Done at*) Babylon, in the month Ash, in the first year of Marduk-Haddon the great king, and sealed with the great seal of the king who is recently dead.

*Observations.*

Among the witnesses is found a name which also occurs upon the stone of Michaux, thus identifying the epoch of the latter.

This bond must have been executed at the very commencement of the king's reign, for we see he had not had time to have his own great seal made. He therefore probably succeeded unexpectedly to his father.

This inscription supplies a Hebrew etymology, which

[5] Probably the name of some trade.

may be worth noticing. *Wezakku* or *hezakku* (they bound) is plainly the Hebrew חזק, to bind firmly; and *zakut* is the Hebrew זק. But in the phrase *zakut hezakku* the two terms have surely the same origin: and therefore the Hebrew זק and חזק have the same origin: in fact they differ only by a breathing. But Gesenius does not notice the connection. An intermediate form is the Chaldee אזקים, *azakkim* (bonds). I think this leads us to a new interpretation of the illustrious name of Hezekiah, generally rendered *robur Jehovæ*. It may mean, "he who is bound to Jehovah," *i.e.* bound to his service by oath or promise; or else, "to whom Jehovah is bound by covenant."

### 3. *The great Inscription of Nabonidus.*[6]

This fine inscription, of which unfortunately only a small portion remains, was found on a barrel cylinder among the *débris* of the great mound at Mugheir, and is now in the British Museum.

From its very remarkable contents it might be entitled, "The Search for the Foundation-stone." No other inscription has, I believe, as yet turned up on a similar subject.

#### *First Fragment, Col. I.* 11.

. . . . and with shining brass I covered them [*probably the columns*], and at each of the gates I placed them. I completed the buildings of that temple of Tara, and I made the temple as splendid as the Sun. For the prosperity of my life, I gave a share of the spoils of my enemies to the Sun my Lord. Oh! Sun! great Lord! . . . . together with the god San thy progenitor, protect with thy sceptre the build-

[6] Pl. 69 of the new volume.

ings of the temple of Shaggathu, the temple of Zida, the temple of the great Asukha tree, the temple of Tara, the temple of Anna, and the temple of Valmas, the dwelling-places of their great divinities: and may those royal edifices endure as long as heaven itself! I pray thee to fix firmly in the zealous hearts of the inhabitants, veneration and awe for San, lord of the gods. Like the duration of the Moon, may its foundations stand fast for ever!

I, Nebo-imduk, king of Babylon .... [*the rest is lost*].

*Observations.*

The name of Nabonidus, or, more properly, Nabo-nahid, signifies "Nebo is glorious." But as many of his subjects spoke the old Hamitic or Proto-Chaldean language, and did not understand Assyrian words, the king took another name, Nebo-imduk, signifying the same thing in the Hamitic tongue.

San being the lunar god, the king very properly prays that the temple may endure as long as the moon itself: "like the life of the moon may its foundations last!"

The names of the temples: *shaggathu* signifies "worship;" the Asukha tree was, I think, the Egyptian sacred Sycamore, or the equally sacred Asoka of India, now planted around temples; and *Anna* signifies "beauty."

*Second Fragment (very much fractured), Col. I.* 43.

....in the days of .... who was king of Babylon in former times ....

(....) son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon ....

.... the Moon and the Sun, his lords ....

.... the temple of Tara, which Burnaburiash my ancestor erected ....

.... upon the platform [*or original foundation*] of Burnaburiash ....

The above is very important, because the Museum possesses bricks of the time of this King Burnaburiash, written in Hamitic. The rest is much mutilated, but the last line of the fragment seems to mention the tenth year of some monarch's reign.

*Third Fragment,*[7] *Col. II.* 4.

. . . . Seven hundred years . . . . unto the Sun he made it . . . . upon the original platform or foundation of Khammurabi.

The bricks of this old Hamitic king are also in the Museum. The above sentence is fractured, but may be restored by comparing Col. I. 57. The sign is the end of the preposition *eli*, "upon."

He built anew the temple of Tara. With beams of lofty cedar-trees, from the land of (. . . .), its roofs he covered . . . .

He built it for the Sun, the great Lord, for the prosperity of his life and the spoiling of his enemies. Grant, O Sun! that these six temples (*the same as before being mentioned*) may last as long as Heaven itself!

I, Nebo-imduk, king of Babylon, pray to thy great divinity that this temple may be crowned with abundant glory.

And Bel-sar-ussur, my eldest son, my rising hope, grant him length of days equal to the life of the Moon!

We now come to a long account of a search made for the sacred *timin* or foundation-stone of the temple of Valmas: or rather, for its inscribed cylinder. This gives a high idea of the sacred feeling with which these cylinders were regarded.

The temple of Valmas, in the city of Agab.

[7] This seems to have contained a kind of history of the temple of Tara.

In very ancient days, (— —) king of Babylon and Naram Sin his son . . . .

I must here draw attention to the importance of this record. The alabaster vase of the old Hamitic monarch Naram Sin, is given in the British Museum volume, plate 3, No. VII., but the valuable relic itself was lost in the river Tigris. It is unfortunate that a fracture of the stone has deprived us of the name of Naram Sin's father.

The inscription continues thus:—

. . . . and Naram Sin, his son, that ancient king[8] [*searched for it?*], but down to the times of Nebo-radduk, king of Babylon, it was never found.

Kuri-galatzu, king of Babylon, that ancient king, sought for it.

Here we have another old Hamitic king whose bricks are in the Museum. His name seems to mean, "his head is lofty," *kuri* being frequently used for a "head" in Assyrian.

. . . . sought for it. But the *timin* of the temple of Valmas was not found. Then he issued a proclamation in these words:—"The *timin* of the temple of Valmas I have not been able to find."

The words are *kiham* . . . . *bilema ishkun, umma:* of which *bilema* is uncertain from fracture. *Kiham*, 'a decree,' is a most important word, because it fixes the meaning of the clause which occurs so often in the Behistun inscription: "Dariaus sar *kiham* igabbi," 'Darius speaks a decree,' or 'Darius proclaims thus.'

It is the Chald. קים, *statutum, edictum* (Ges. 890); Syriac *kima:* and being derived from קים, *manens,*

[8] Read *sar sut makri*, as in the next line but one.

*durans*, implies something very firmly or permanently fixed. We read that the laws of the Medes and Persians could never be changed, which contains the same leading idea as קום does.

Then Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of the nations....

The rest of this fragment is lost. It is to be regretted that the particulars of the search made by order of Esarhaddon have not been preserved.

*Fourth Fragment, Col. II.* 40.

(— —), king of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar a former king, commanded a large army to search for the *timin* of this temple of Valmas. They dug: they sunk pits: they carried away the earth: but the *timin* of the temple of Valmas was not found.

*itakaru : ikthutu : ishebilu :* three verbs in succession.

*itakaru*, they dug: T conjugation of *akar*, אכר, *fodit* (Ges. 54).

*ikthutu*, they sunk pits: the same as *ikdudu;* from כדד, to dig with labour; but especially "to sink wells." Ges. 465.

*ishebilu*, they carried away the earth; from *subul*, סבל, *bajulavit : portavit grave onus.* Ges. 702.

Then I, Nebo-imduk, king of Babylon, restorer of the holy temples and holy places, during my glorious reign, moved by my reverence towards Ishtar, my Lady, who presides over the city of Agab, I dug deep pits or excavations. The Sun and the Sky granted to me the distinguished favour to find the *timin* of the temple of Valmas, partly through my good luck, and partly through my ardent zeal. So I, the king, assembled my large army to witness the opening, or drawing forth of this *timin*, (*thirty*?) years after the digging which Neboshadussur (Nebuchadnezzar), king of Babylon, had

caused to be dug. Both before and after him, other kings had sought it, but not found it, and they had issued decrees like these:—"We have laboured much after this *timin*, and have found nothing."

Here are some words and phrases worth noticing.

*Anna kini*, gratia insignis; from Heb. חנה, *hanna*, gratia.

*biri*, pits or wells: *abriu*, I dug them; from *bara*, to dig a well, Ges. 123, who says, *fodit, specialiter puteum.*

*Ambit* (adverb), partly; contracted from *ana bit*, literally "in part;" from Heb. פת, *pit* or *bit*, a part of anything (Ges. 846).

*Tuki*, good luck; exceedingly like the Greek τυχη, but the coincidence may be casual. This word occurs in most of the Achæmenian inscriptions, where it is said that Oromasdes gives to men their various fortunes.

*Kin* or *Kini*, ardent zeal; Heb. קן, Ges. 895, who renders it *studium:* amor ardens: ζηλος.

The whole phrase is therefore, *ambit tuki u ambit kin-ya.*

The next phrase I translate, "So I, the king, assembled my army," etc. The first word being the adverb *kun*, sic: ita: Ges. 488.

*Bukhi timinna* seems to imply the drawing out of the *timin* from some fissure or opening, an expression very suitable to the tenor of the narrative. For Gesenius renders the verb בקע by such terms as *aperiri*, to be opened; *excludi*, to be taken out; *prodire*, to come forth; *diffindi*, to be split open, etc. He says it is used in Isaiah and Proverbs of water coming out of a fissure and coming forth to the light. He adds, p. 168, "fin-

dendi vis translata est ad rem prorumpentem." The diggings made by Nebuchadnezzar are called *khiddata* (from the same root, כדד, to dig wells). *Imnu-su*, he commanded them; *ikthutu*, to dig. This verb we had before in the same sense in Col. II. 43. With respect to *imnu-su*, he commanded them, or *yamanu-su*, as it might be written, the same verb occurs on the cylinder of Sargon, where it is said, *asibut yamanu-su*, the inhabitants *decreed* it. It comes from the verb *aman*, אמן, whence the subst. *amanah*, אמנה, *statutum, decretum*, Ges. 73.

*nunahi*, we have laboured much: from ענה, *anah* (Ges. 781), *laborem impendit alicui rei.* Compare the Greek *ανια.*

*la nimutsah*, we have not found it: from *matsah*, to find, מצא, Ges. 606.

*Column III.*

The fragments which remain of this column are less interesting than the others, because a great deal of the previous matter is repeated. This column is chiefly occupied with praises of the goddess Anunit, who was probably the same as Ishtar, or the Moon, though possibly she may have been the planet Venus. Her name resembles Anaïtis. I will make only a few extracts from this column.

Line 19 (much broken) .... the *timin* of the temple of Valmas .... on the *tablets* (?) of Shaga-saltiash .... concerning those diggings I have read ....

Shaga-saltiash is named again at line 41, and called "King of Babylon in former times." His bricks, I believe, have not yet been discovered. *Khiddati*, diggings. *Akharu*, I have read. It is then added, in

praise (apparently) of this ruler, that he was *ship kinu, rubu nadu*, a glorious king, and a noble prince. It then continues—

By the favour of the Sun and Anunit, I became supreme ruler of the country. And by their favour I built the temple of Tara, which is the temple of the Sun, in the city of Senkereh, and that of Valmas, which is the temple of Anunit in the same city.

*inu*, favour, is the Heb. חִן, *hin*, gratia. Senkereh is the modern name of the city. I have used it here, being uncertain of the ancient name. The record continues—

Of these temples, that of Anunit, my Lady, was most ruinous. From old-age its stones had all fallen down. Those stones I dug out of the ground: I renewed the foundations: I removed the fallen rubbish, etc.

Many other repairs are related, and it concludes—"I restored the temple more grandly than ever." The king then prays for a blessing on his work, and on himself for having done it. And he says, "I did this work for the prosperity of my life, and the spoiling of my enemies." Then comes a prayer: "O Anunit, great Lady (*billat rabiti*), together with Sen thy father [*the Lunar god*], protect the buildings of those six temples, with thy sceptre, for evermore!"

The same temples as before are here enumerated. *Lishakin*, protect! literally, "make them to last very long!" from *kun*, כּוּן, to be firm: *confirmavit: statuit.* In another conjugation it is *likun*, as in the very next line, Col. III. 53, *kima shamie ishda-sun likun!* may their foundations last firmly for ever, like the heavens! He then prays once more for a blessing on Bel-sar-ussur, his eldest son.

*Additional Observations.*

In the invocation to Ashur and the twelve gods; instead of "the god .... king of war," I would now read "ACHERIB the destroyer, (*bulu*)—king of War." And since this deity was the king of war, I think his name may be derived from the Hebrew קרב *kerib*, battle: Syriac, קרבא, the same.

Among the Zaaleh witnesses, I have left blank the name of the father of Babilaya: but I see that it reads San-sik-ash-ka (San! preserve thy votary!) literally *hominem tuum* (איש). The verb seems to be ישע, *liberare*: auxilium dare (Ges. 453): which has another form, שוע, *liberare ex periculis*, according to Ges. 989. The final ע has sometimes the force of *k* or *g* in Assyrian, as for instance in the Hebrew רע *malus*; Assyrian, *Raga*: *Raka*: vir scelestus, impius, vel sceleratus; which I believe to be the origin of the term *Raca* in the Scriptures.

I return for a moment to the inscription of Nabonidus. At the end of Col. II. it is said that the ancient kings issued a declaration: which I at first thought was comprised in one line, but I now believe that the following line also formed part of it. I would read:

*Timinna suati nunahi, la nimutsa.*
*Radu sha mami, yanep nali, makhipi ishkunu;*

and translate—

"We have laboured much after this *timin*, and have found nothing.

"Surely, the falling rains and the violence of the river must have washed it away."

The last line is difficult. *Radu* is falling rain: *mami*, waters: *yanep* may be אנפ, *anep*, in the sense of vio-

lence, wrath, turbulence (Ges. 80). *Nali*, a river, occurs frequently, and is Hebrew נחל. *Makhipi*, "washed away," may be a participial form from חפ, which is the primitive form of חפפ, *abluit*, *detersit*, *abrasit* (Ges. 359), whence also the seashore, or *wash* of the sea, is called in Hebrew חף (see Ges. 325). *Ishkunu*, they have done it: they have made it: (a very common word.)

Passing to Col. III., although it is much broken and defaced, yet I find, on further examination, that more of the general meaning can be made out than I at first supposed.

It seems that after the *timin* of the temple of Valmas had been recovered with so many efforts and so much difficulty, the king proceeded to read it, and found that it recorded that the ancient king Shaga-saltiash was the original builder of the temple, and had dedicated it to the goddess Anunit (compare lines 20, 21, with 41, 42). Nabonidus therefore resolved to rebuild the temple with much splendour, and to dedicate it anew to the same deity with a solemn prayer (see line 47 and following lines). But the most interesting point is this, that he says he replaced once more the ancient *timin* in its former place. This shows its sanctity and his great veneration for it. I read the words thus: (line 45) "*timinna labirita shanutish addiu:*" where *labirita* signifies "old": *shanutish*, "for the second time," is here represented by a monogram containing the same sign twice repeated.

*Addiu* signifies *jeci: fundavi:* I deposited or laid down the foundation of a building, or something upon it. This verb, of constant occurrence in the inscriptions, is the first person singular of the Hebrew ידה, *idah*, jecit, which makes in the plural *iddu*, jecerunt.

In his prayer the king prays for prosperity to himself and his successors, and confusion to his enemies; where I remark the word *gadumi* (l. 40), which must mean "himself," since *shaasu gadu*, "he himself," or "himself in person," is a common expression. *Shakab*, confusion, is from the same root as *eshkub*, prostravit; which occurs so often in the phrase "the terror of Ashur overwhelmed them, *eshkub sunuti*." It is the Hebrew שכב, *shakab*, prostravit. The prayer for increase of religious fervour is curious, and contains an important word (see l. 54):—

"*bulukti San bel ilu in* shamami *libbi nisi-su suskin-ama*."
*i.e.* "and veneration for San, lord of the gods, implant thou firmly in the *warm* hearts of its inhabitants."

This *shamami* is the Assyrian form of the Chaldee *khamima*, חמימא, calidus. In many other words the Hebrew ח becomes SH in Assyrian. This occurs, as I have before remarked, in other languages: compare calor, chaleur: carus, cher: etc., etc.

One of the Assyrian months was called *Shami*, "the month of heat," from the Hebrew חם, *kham*, calidus (Ges. 346), a word from the same root and similarly changed in the two languages.

I observe moreover that it is said that *both* the great temples of this city (*Senkereh*) were in ruins and that the king rebuilt both of them, viz. the temple of the Sun and that of Anunit.

After describing at some length these repairs, by which "the temples were restored more grandly than ever" (l. 35), he continues thus (l. 36):—

"Wherefore I pray the Sun and Anunit, may their hearts rejoice over this work which I have done! May they requite it with manifold blessings!" etc. etc.

The words of the text are:—

"Ana shatti Shemesh u Anunit ana ebshati-ya damgati libba-sun likhadu."

The first phrase, "*ana shatti*," signifies *ob hoc*, vel *ob hanc rem;* "for this cause," or "therefore." It answers to the Heb. אל זאת, *al zat*. See Gesenius, p. 294. זאת, "this thing" is the fem. of זה, *zeh* or *zah*, the article *hic*, *hæc*, *hoc*. From hence, according to Gesenius, arose the Aramaic form *di* or *da* (for which the Assyrians always substitute *sha*). In fact the Hebrew letter *zain* had a sound which in some words was undistinguishable from *sh*, so that זאת or זאתה, as it is written in Jerem. xxvi. 6, was pronounced *shateh* or *shati*, just as in Assyrian. זה sometimes becomes a *relative*, as *sha* does very frequently in Assyrian, *ex. gr*. Psalm civ. 8: אל מקום זה יסדת, *al makom sha isdata*, "to the place which thou hast founded." This example is taken from Gesenius.

Moreover the Heb. אשר, *asher*, and ש, *sha*, are mere forms of the Assyrian *sha:* for instance, כש, *ki-sha*, quemadmodum, "in like manner as," agrees exactly with an Assyrian word of similar sound and meaning. And since writing this, I have observed a passage in Gesenius (p. 111), where he gives his opinion that all these words, זה, ש, אשר, ד, were originally the same.

*Likhadu* answers exactly to the Heb. חדה, *khada*, gavisus est, exhilaravit, (Ges. 320,) who considers γαθεω, *gaudeo*, to be of the same origin with *khada*.

## VIII.—A POLITICAL POEM RELATING TO THE TROUBLES OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD II. AND III.: AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE VISIT OF CHARLES V. TO ENGLAND, BY AN EYEWITNESS.

BY PROFESSOR REINHOLD PAULI, OF TÜBINGEN, HON. MEM. R.S.L.

(Read January 8th, 1862.)

THE following political poem referring to the troubles during the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. is preserved in a manuscript volume, belonging to the Royal Public Library at Stuttgart, under the signature "Cod. Poet. 4° Nr. 16." As the volume evidently comes from England and must have passed through various hands, until it merged into the Stuttgart collection, I think a description of its contents may not be out of place.

Being written on vellum, divided into seventy-eight leaves in 12mo, it is still kept together by wooden boards covered with leather, though the clasps, which originally closed them, have been torn away. The main portion of the book is taken up by two distinct works, both written in the beginning of the fifteenth century, but each by its own hand. The first, beginning on fol. 1, is headed: "Tõr Sp̃t Assit nobis Gracia;" after which the text, regularly written in 31 lines, commences: "Signum primum a quo incipiendum est in phisionima est color, etc." It terminates on fol. 10

with the words, "Explicit fisonima ab Aristotele data." Two entries, however, on the first page deserve a special notice. On the empty space in the upper corner two names of Englishmen are inscribed, both by hands belonging to the seventeenth century: "Fairfax of y$^{e}$ gift of Capt. W$^{m}$ Bradford," and: "nunc e libris Rad: Thoresby Leodiensis." I believe the first be the General who commanded the Parliamentarian troops against the Royalists, and the other, one of the many Englishmen who about the same time were professed monks in French or Belgian monasteries. Thoresby very likely took the volume away from England.

From fol. 10$^{b}$ to fol. 11$^{b}$, by another hand of the fourteenth century, the poem is inserted which I have transcribed.

Fol. 12 is empty, and fol. 12$^{b}$ filled with samples and recipes of medicine in English, in a hand either of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. On fol. 13 a few musical notes are found, and on the top of fol. 13$^{b}$ another recipe, under which, by a hand of the time of James I. and in a darker ink, the following memorandum is added:—

NATURALL PHILOSOPHY.

A booke (as itt seems) was giuen by y$^{e}$ lord Clifford (father to the 1 Earle of Cumberland) to y$^{e}$ Priory of Bolton.

The Contentes of euery Chapter of this booke are expressed in y$^{e}$ Preamble.

This Memorandum introduces the second work writted in this volume, beginning on fol. 14 and terminating on fol. 76$^{b}$. It is a Norman-French poem, transcribed in a clear hand of the fourteenth century, with initials illuminated in blue, red and gold, in double

columns of 33 lines each, the lines drawn by a sharp pencil, and the stitches, through which the scribe fixed the volume on his desk, still being visible along the edges. Towards the end the work is illustrated by several astronomical drawings in red colour. It begins:

Qui uoet entẽdre a cest comenz
Si poet ap'ndre en cest romanz etc.
er. 15. Cest liure q$^{i}$ desc$^{o}$t le mõde
Q$^{i}$ a nõ ymage du mõde etc.

It ends, fol. 76$^{b}$:

Ci finist limage du mõde
A deu comẽce, a deu p'nt fin
Ki toz nos meine a bone fin
Amen.

fol. LXIII in gallic [*hand of the 16th century*].

(Fol. 77.) In isto libro sunt folia LXIII scripta in gallica lingua [*by the same hand*].

By another hand of the same time some English words of translation now and then are inserted between the ancient French original. The poem itself, it appears, was composed by Gauthier (Walter) de Metz about the year 1247.

Fol. 77$^{b}$ I find covered with lines in English, apparently belonging to the fifteenth century, but the greater part erased and almost entirely illegible.

The upper part of fol. 78, in a handwriting of the time of Henry VIII., contains the following lines:—

Nowe fare well lady I take my leve
Vnto your' grace I me submytte
And what so eu$^{d}$ y$^{t}$ ze saye
Your' love all on my hert ys knyt.

To which, by the same hand as on fol. 13$^{b}$, a memorandum is added:

These verses were made by y$^{e}$ 2$^{d}$ Earle of Cumberland before his marriage with his first lady y$^{e}$ daughter of Charles Brandon by Mary Queene of France.

Another hand hath filled the lower part with ciphers :—

The b. xoc fyn

| b. for a. | x for v. | p for o. | k for f. | f. for e |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | v | o | j | e |
| | () | χ | 3 | 2 |

The last page, fol. 78$^{b}$, shows some more illegible scribbling in different hands.

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I. The Political Verses on fol. 10$^{b}$ are not found in Mr. Th. Wright's Collections, published for the Camden Society, 1839, or for the Master of the Rolls. They are written in the well-known metre, in strophes of four lines, the latter rhyming in the middle and at the end.[1] The orthography as well as the Latinity are very bad, and besides several obscurities with regard to certain historical and personal allusions, more than one word defies explanation.

Plangens plorat Anglia pro cede baronum
Plebs cadit iniuria, heu dat plebi sonum,
Dolus et discordia torquent terre tronum,
Post pensare talia multis erit bonum.
Mire cadunt nobiles de rota fortune,
Micant, monent milites, monstrant modum lune.
Palam premunt proceres plebem nec impune
Vt gestis instabiles plures pendent fune.
Pollent panni precio literis auratis.

[1] A kind of alliteration within the verses is very curious, reminding the reader of Anglo-Saxon and early English poetry.

Nunc pergunt ut garcio nec more magnatis,
Minantur in publico, clam sunt pii satis,
Non pandunt in prelio punctum probitatis.
Fauent adulteriis, assisis procurant,
De letis et curiis plus de missis curant.
In foris et feriis cedunt, iactant, iurant,
Malis uacant variis, que non diu durant.
Prime pestis passio pugna fit Schotorum,
Datur exterminio magna gens Anglorum,
Fugiunt de medio duces populorum.
Civili discidio plebs obit proborum.
Sic Comes Cornubie Petrus decollatur,
Et Comes Glouernie Gilbertus mactatur,
Humfridus Herfordie per noctes necatur,
Comitis Lancastrie capud amputatur.
Clifford, Moubray, Batismar[9] tyeys fere centum
Ferunt fero federe funus per tormentum.
Uxoris in carcere nati dant lamentum,
Ullum potest soluere genus nec argentum.
Gauaston[9] de Mildetone mors dat hos perire,
Comes de Carliolo neci datur dire.
Plane patent populo causas qui vult scire,
Et multos pro merito deus vult punire.
Felix est prouincia cum pace secura,
Tuentur ecclesia, rex et rengni iura.
Sed cum ferox furia fit sine mensura,
Cadunt rex et curia sub vindicta dura.
Dicte cedis ultio per tempus quieuit
Regina cum filio facta freto fleuit.
Mox de Mari mortuo stupor flatus fleuit,
Terre de dominio regem qui doleuit.
Comes Arundellie fuit decollatus
Et presul Oxonie capite truncatus,
De Spenser cognomine sic sunt pater, natus,
Hic Comes Wintonie, ducis alter status.
Baldok cancellarius obit noue porte,
Scrop iusticiarius transit statum forte

Vel et Holand penitus, plays pares sunt morte
Reding et Aquarius pendent equa sorte
Bemond Trussel Ruscelyn Wiler pauent plecti,
Fas sumunt exilii trans mare directi,
Quorum forsan emuli fient furcis necti,
Et reddibunt singuli pace regis tecti.
De rege, qui dederat multa castra multis,
Postquam dictus fuerat mortuus sepultus,
Dicta ficta fecerat forte frater stultus
Apud Crofth qui vixerat clausus mesti vultus.
Creuit pudor patrie, fama feda fluit,
Cum castro cotidie rex in rengno ruit.
Fratrem Comes Kancie mesta morte luit,
Pro quo Comes Marchie post suspensus fuit.
Mous humeri Berenger vinclis sunt artati,
Wake, Fulco fizWarin fugam malunt pati.
Ocle Gurney fugiunt causa regis fati,
Interim sunt exules ad voca vocati.
Laus regis excellĩtur, sed flos matris cadit,
Cum Mors maris moritur, Berford funus vadit.
Malus trauers traditor unus vix euadit.
Sic fraus fine fallitur, dum sors reos radit,
Tu sors dira decipis reges et reginas,
Posse pape principis seuas et declinas
Nunc letis cras subvenis aufers et propinas,
De morte nùnc eruis cras das mortis minas.
Heu que tanta vanitas sic fallit potentes,
Que ceca cupiditas fine facis flentes,
Quorum ius nec pietas malas mutat mentes,
Parant neces proprias, qui sic necant gentes.
Onos pacis presides predicta pensate,
Barones et consules de cede cessate,
Et cum sitis iudices iuste iudicate,
Semper pii, stabiles pauperes iuuate.
Nam si scirent Anglici scribe seculares,
Quid iam scriptum reperi mene techel phares,
Non vacarent veneri nec necarent pares
Set curarent consequi celum plus quam lares.

In bona milicia duo solent esse,
Fides et mundicia, que iam sunt oppresse,
Nam fraus et luxuria nunc rengnant expresse,
Per quod multis gracia deest adnecesse.
In minori termino quam annis bis decem
Hoc turpi litigio cuncti ferunt necem
Peiori patibulo, quam fur dat vervecem.
Ut fruantur gaudio, deo demus precem.
Quis audiuit talia nec valeret flere.
Hec agunt periuria fastus liuor vere,
Xriste, regens omnia, terram hanc tuere
Reddendo iudicia, horum miserere. Amen.

By a different hand, not much later:

Hic sto pro ventis et pro multis nocumentis
Et do studenti lumen sine flamine venti
Et qui me frangat sine maledicione tangat.
Non quidam/ nullus/ omnis non/ nullus habetur
Non nullus/ quidam/ non quidam non/ valet omnis
Non omnis/ quidam non/ nullus non/ valet omnis
Non omnis non/ quidam/ non nullus non/ aliquis non.

V. 14 evidently, but against the metre, plus *quam* de. V. 16, an allusion to the battle of Bannockburn A. 1314. V. 21, the death of Gaveston, A. 1312. V. 23 and the following allude to the attainder and decapitation of so many noblemen, A. 1322. V. 25, *tyeys* seems to be the Norman-French word for Germans, undoubtedly mercenaries in the king's service. V. 30, the Earl of Carlisle beheaded, A. 1323. V. 38, facta *freto*, very dark, but literal, alluding to the flight of Queen Isabella to Paris, A. 1325. V. 42, Oxonie, a mistake instead of Exonie. V. 45, nove porte, Newgate. V. 47, *plays?* V. 48, Aquarius, I do not know who is meant by this name. V. 55, the Earl of Kent, who supposed that his brother, King Edward II., was

still alive. V. 64, voca, vota? V. 66, the catastrophe of the year 1330. V. 89, must the verses not have been written in the year 1330 or very soon after? V. 91, vervecem instead of cervicem.

The puzzling lines, which fill the rest of the leaves seem to be of a grammatical nature.

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## II.

### ACCOUNT OF THE VISIT OF CHARLES V. TO ENGLAND IN 1522.

*Wie und in wellicher gestalt Key. May. von Bruck ausz gen Lunden in Engeland gezogen, ankomen und empfangen worden ist.*

In dem xxiiii tag May ist Kay. May. in ainem schönen Stettlin, an der See, genannt Thünkirchen, ir May. zugehörig in dem Land zu Flandern übernacht gelegen, und am xxv Tag verruckt, ungevorlych umb v ur Nachmittag gen Greszling komen, da selbs ausserhalb des Stetlinsz ain Schlange schusz enhalb aines wassers, haben die Englischen auff irem Confin, in ainer wisen, bisz in zweyhundert pferdt, darunter bey achtzig pogner, und das ander Kirisser, und spyeser mit ainem Ennglischen fanen, fast kostlich mit Iren klaidern, auch pferden harnisch gehalten, Und haben vor der ordnung steen gehebt iiij Valckenerlach, Vom hauffen sein drey hern personlich man in jrem harnasch, vnd kostlichen gulden stucken ain bogenschusz weit, von der ordnung zu kay. May. geriten, und zu fusz abgestanden, und Ir May. Mit grosser Reverentz enntpflanzen, und als bald ain brieff, von dem Künig von Engeland überantwurt, denselben die kay. May. verlesen und nach verlesung des selbigen durch den groszen kantzler antwurt darauff geben und fürther auff Kallisz zu geryten, und nach vii urn da selbs eingeriten/ Da selbst sein jr May. entgegen, all Gaystlichayt, jnn jrer

ordnung mit den Creützen und haltumb, entgegen gangen, Item es seyn auch all gassen, dardurch die kay. May. geriten bysz gehoff hat mussen, Thappeserey behenckt werden, Vnd auff allen thürn fanen, Darinn des Künigs von Engelands wappen.

¶ Es haben auch die Englischen, So bald Kayse. May. mit jrem gezeüg, zu der Stat kommen ist, als in geschützs abgon lassen, inn sollycher menyg, das verwundern was, und kayserlich Mayestat ist daselbs übernacht belyben.

¶ Am Montag nach mittag hat kayserlich Mayestatt ungevorlich mit drey oder vier schyffen mit vast starckem (pag. 3) wind, sich gewagt zu Kallisz abweg, und mit jr Mayestat etlich Englisch herren bisz geen Thaufers, ain Stat unnd Schlosz am mör, jnn Engeland angefarn, und ankommen.

¶ Wie die kayserlich Mayestat zu Thaufers, auch der künig von Engeland am afftermontag, da selbs zu jrer May. kommen, empfangen worden, und wie sy sich gegen einander gehalten, ist dem hoffgesynd nit wissent gewesen, Dann kayserlich Mayestat hoffgesynd ist derselben zeit noch zu Kallysz geweszen.

¶ Am Freytag den xxx tag May. haben die Englyschen zwey Frantzösischen Rawbschiff gefangen, unnd geen Thaufers gebracht und all schyff daselbs in der porten gehalten, der bysz in die Dreissyg Streitschyff gewesen seind haben jr geschütz abgeschossen, mit aynem sollychen tharmerein und puffen, ainer mechts nit glauben, er sechs dann daz man solchs gewaltig geschütz auff dem wasser geprauchet hett.

¶ An diesem Freytag, Ist kayserlich Mayestat, und der Künnig von Engelandt zu Thaufers abweg, und bisz zu Sant Thomas zu Kandelberg gezogen, und da selbs übernacht beliben.

¶ Am Sambstag zu morgens, Da gieng kayserlich Mayestat und der Künig von Engelannd in Sant Thomas kirchen neben den Altar, daran sant Thomas sarch oder kast stat, hat kayserlich Mayestat und der Künig von Engelandt zwu messen gehört und ist der künig, kayserlich Mayestat auff der lincken seyten gestanden.—

¶ Nach dem selben hat kayserlich Mayestat Sant Thomas sarchen oder kasten gezaigt, den gesehen, den selbygen (p. 4) zu beschreiben, oder die kostlichait an zu zaigen, ist nit wol müglich der übertreffenlichisten kostlichen, edlem gestayn, von Berlin edelm gestain, Auch mercklich anzahl Ryng mit jren eingefasten stainen, unnd Berlyn, Die in überflissigen menyg dareyn gearbayt, unnd unerzellyg seind und in Summa ist sollychs ain mörcklyches werck, Aynner sollychen unerschetzlichen kostlicheyt, das da nyemandes glaublich ist, er seche es dann selbst.

¶ Item under den allen Edlen gestayn vil übertreffenlichen Seyn zweyen Edell gestayn ann gedachtem sarch, die ayn künnig von Franckreych, Für seyn Rantzon, oder schatzung gelt dareyn geben hat, Die man auff etlych hundert tausent kronen schetzet, Unnd das schlechttest des ann der sarch ist, Ist das gold.

¶ Ittem die lenng Sant Thomas kirch Seind Ungevorlich. gemayn schrydt bysz zwayhundert ung zwayntzig schryt, Inn der grufft ist Sant Thomas grab, Unnd da weyszt man ainem Sant Thomas kölch, Es stet auch auff dem selben grab, ain vier Egketten tafel, oder platt, darinn ist geschriben oder gestochen, aber vast unnleszlich, Sant Thomas Epithavium. So man auff seinem leychnam funden hat Unnd lautet also: Hic requiescit Thomas de obernensis, Archiepiscobus Britanie. primas et sedis apostolice Legatus. Qui pro justicia et jure ecclesie, interfectus est. IIII Kalendas Januarii Mileno Centena septua.

¶ Fürther Stedt auff der glyncken seytten ain Prunn an ainer wand, In stain gefaszt, Darüber stet ain geschrift die zaigt an, das sich das selb wasser, ain mal in millich und vier mal in blut soll verkert haben.

(p. 5) ¶ Item wie das Kloster, da kayserlych Mayestat und der künnig von Engelandt zu herberg gelegen seyn, vast grosz im zirckell ist.

¶ Am gemelten Samstag übernacht ist kaiserlich Mayestat und der Künig von Engeland in ainem grossen marckt übernacht gelegen, genant Sednigbon.

¶ Sontag am tag Primo Junij zu Raygestir ain Stetlyn unnd Bistumb seind wir übernacht belyben, Und am Montag gen Grünewytz Sechs Engelysch meyl von Lunda, Da das Künnygs von Engeland tochther ist gezogen.

*Kaiserlich Mayestat Einreytung zu Lunden inn Engeland.*

¶ Am Sambstag den sechsten Junnij seind zu Lunden aingeriten in Engeland die kaiserlich Mayestatt unnd der Künig von Engeland.

¶ Erstlych seind die gassen von dem ausseristen ort d^r Stat bisz in das schlosz, dardurch kayserlich Mayestat, Unnd künig von Engeland haben reiten müssen mit sand beschit Unnd auff beyde seyten, die Heüser mit Tappessern Behenckt geweszt, Es seind auch in der selben gassen bey syben Spectacula gemacht geweszt, vast zierlich und schön so die kauffleüdt unnd herren, vonn der Stadt Lunden machen lassen.

¶ Item in den ersten aspect seind gesessen, od^r gestanden ettlych personen anngelegtt, als die syben Churfürsten (p. 6) darunder kayserlich May. in der mit, auch zierlich mit jren wappen, klaidern und klaynetern vast kostlych.

¶ Item in dem andern aspect, warn der stamm des geschlechts des Teütschen Kay. auch des künigs von Engeland, man und frawenbild, alles von schönen Junckfrawen und knaben, auff das zierlichest angelegt, in kingklyche klayder, und jr kronen auff dem haupt, und Ceptar und schwertter in der hand, vast lustig zu sehen gewesen, und ander matterien in den andern Spectacula mit aller zierlichesten aspecten an zu schawen geweszt.

¶ Item zu Erst sein forher geriten, des künigs von Engeland Edelleüt und herren, in schartz sameten Röcken, darunder etlich mit gulden stucken, mit jren guldin kettin, bey dreühundert.

¶ Auf die selben haben gefolgt, die herren von der Statt Lunden, bey den xxxx. In rot scharlachen Röcken, auff die selben aber etlich Engelisch herren, weytter darauff gefolgt,

leave Calais, on about three or four vessels with a very strong wind, and with his Majesty arrived and landed in England several English lords at Dover, a town and castle on the sea.

How the King of England, the Emperor's Majesty being at Dover, arrived there on aftermonday, how his Majesty was received, and how they behaved towards each other, is not known to the servants of the court, since the court of the Emperor's Majesty was at that time still at Calais.

On Friday the 30th day of May, the English caught two French pirates and carried them to Dover; and all ships there in harbour, of which there were about thirty ships of war, fired their ordnance with such a thunder and noise, that a man might not believe it, unless he saw, how such powerful ordnance was used on the water.

On the same Friday the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England left Dover and went to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and remained there during the night.

On Saturday in the morning the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England went to Saint Thomas's Church, and at the altar where the epitaph or shrine of Saint Thomas is standing, the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England heard two masses, and the King was standing on the left-hand side of his Majesty.

After the same, the King showed the Emperor's Majesty the epitaph or shrine of St. Thomas, which seen also to describe or to demonstrate its preciousness is all but impossible on account of the most excellent, costly and precious stones, pearls and jewels, also a great number of rings with their set stones and pearls, which are wrought in abundance and innumerable; and in summer such is a wonderful work, of such an inestimable value, that nobody would believe it, unless he saw it himself.

Item, on the said epitaph by far the most excellent among the precious stones are two jewels, given by a King of France as his ransom or redeeming fee, which are worth some hundred thousand crowns; and the meanest, which is on the epitaph, is the gold.

Item, the church of St. Thomas is about two hundred and twenty common paces long. In the crypt is the tomb of St. Thomas, and there one is shown a chalice of St. Thomas. On the same tomb is fixed a square tablet or plate, on which is written or engraved, but now very illegible, Saint Thomas's Epithavium, which was found on his corpse, and it says: "Hic requiescit Thomas de obernensis. Archiepiscobus Britannie. Primas et sedis apostolice Legatus. Qui pro justicia et jure ecclesie, interfectus est IIII Kalendas Januarii Milleno Centena septua."

Moreover there is on the left-hand side a well in the wall, set in stone, with a writing above it, saying that the same water had been turned once into milk and four times into blood.

Item, the monastery, in which the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England had taken lodging, is very large and of a circle shape.

On the said Saturday, the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England spent the night at a large market-town, called Sittingbourne.

On Sunday, the 1st of June, we remained at night at Rochester, a small town and see of a bishop.

And on Monday we went to Greenwich, six English miles from London, where the daughter of the King of England lives.

*The entrance of the Emperor's Majesty in London in England.*

On Saturday, the 6th of June, the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England entered London on horseback.

First, the streets from the very beginning of the city until the palace, through which the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England had to ride, were all covered with sand, and from the houses down hung tapestry. There were also performed in the same streets about seven spectacles, very nicely and beautifully, by the merchants and gentlemen of the city of London.

Item, in the first show were sitting or standing several persons dressed as the seven Princes Electors, and in the

midst of them the Emperor's Majesty, very nicely and sumptuously, with their coats of arms, dresses and jewels.

Item, in the other show the genealogies of the German Emperors and the Kings of England, men and women, were represented by beautiful girls and boys, clad most prettily in royal robes, with crowns on their heads and sceptres and swords in their hands, very amusing to look at; and other matters in the other spectacles, the nicest shows to look at.

Item, the first, who rode before, were the lords and gentlemen of the King of England, in black velvet coats, some of them with golden pieces and with golden chains, about three hundred.

They were followed by the gentlemen of the city of London, about forty, in scarlet coats; but after the same followed several English lords, and the trumpeters of the King and the Emperor's Majesty all together, after the same some of the courtiers of the Emperor's Majesty, in their velvet coats, after the same about a hundred and fifty English gentlemen, very richly adorned in velvet and golden chains.

Item, then came the brother-in-law of the King of England, on his left side the Marquis Hans of Brandenburg, and before him the Prince of Orange and the Marquis of Aerschot and other great lords, in their golden pieces and chains, on beautifully-caparisoned stallions.

After the same followed the heralds of the Emperor's Majesty and on both their sides six men with gilt sceptres; then two men came riding with two silver crosses, and after them on horseback the Cardinal of England, and after him a man with a golden sword, who introduced the Emperor's Majesty, after him the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England. And his Majesty the Emperor wore the order of the King of England round the neck, and the King the order of the Emperor, in their golden pieces, both after the same fashion and made in the same manner.

Then came riding the archers of the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England, very well adorned, about two hundred. And when they had come to the great church, they alighted

thereat and went in; there was prepared in the midst of the church a bench covered with cloth of gold and cushions, on which they knelt down, and immediately was sung with great solemnity *Te Deum laudamus*.

When that was done, they rode to their lodgings in the palace, which is a large and beautiful building. All rooms throughout, especially those in which the Emperor's Majesty and the King of England are staying, are of such excellent, inestimable and skilful workmanship, and everywhere covered with tapestry, as one has never seen the like.

During the four days that his Majesty stayed at Greenwich, the King of England kept much entertainment with banquets, dances, jousts, tournaments and other the like, and everybody was given gratis to eat and to drink.

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The account of the reception of the Emperor Charles V. in England was discovered in the celebrated collection of books and antiquities, formerly preserved in the castle of Ambras in the Tyrol, at present in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It is an old and evidently contemporary print in small quarto, but unfortunately a mere fragment of only four leaves. The two rubrics are printed with red type, and the first is embellished by some rude arabesques in woodcut, the centre of which is meant to be the Emperor.

The author, as an eye-witness, was certainly among the Emperor's company, perhaps one of his heralds, whose duty it was to describe the visit at the English court in the style of a journal, for distribution in print. However, the German, the orthography, and the style of the production are abominable, and of that uncouth and illogical character which was always general in Germany before the influence of Luther's

translation of the Bible made itself felt. It is therefore all but impossible to venture on a literal translation of even such a simple description.

There is a good account of the Emperor's doings in England, when he came over in May, 1522, in Herbert's 'Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.,' Kennet's History of England, vol. ii. p. 47; and it will be seen by comparison, that all the dates of the German diary agree with it, with the single exception of the day when the cavalcade entered the city of London, which should of course be: "Sambstag, den siebenten Junij" (Saturday, the seventh day of June).

I cannot tell what is meant by "aftermontag." The words from the tomb of Thomas à Becket may be both copied wrongly and misprinted. The noblemen who came with the Emperor, besides the Marquis of Aerschot, were, the Margrave John of Brandenburg—who had married Germaine de Foix, the widow of Ferdinand the Catholic, of Aragon, and held the place as Viceroy of Valencia—and Prince Philibert of Orange. The Emperor resided at the Black Friars', his train at Bridewell.

It is to be regretted that the rest of the fragment seems to be lost, as it would have contained the description of the festivals at Windsor with the journey to Winchester and the voyage from Southampton to Spain. Yet such as it is, it contains curious information by a foreigner, especially about Becket's shrine only a very short time before the tomb was demolished.

## IX.—JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN ACARNANIA, WITH ACCOUNT OF RUINS OF NEW PLEURON, GYFTO CASTRO, AND PETRO VOUNI.

BY D. E. COLNAGHI, ESQ., BRITISH VICE-CONSUL AT MISSOLONGHI.

(Read November 27th, 1861.)

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Society two papers forwarded to me by my friend Mr. D. E. Colnaghi, one containing an account of a tour he has lately made through the south-west district of Acarnania, with interesting notices of the ruins still visible there, and of the present state of the country: the other, offering some curious details of the ruins of NEW PLEURON.

There were, as is well known, two cities of this name in ancient times; one called OLD PLEURON (ἡ παλαιὰ Πλευρών, Strab. x. p. 451), situated in the plain between the Achelous and the Evenus, at the foot of Mount Curium; a city, which supplied troops during the Trojan War, under their leader, Thoas, the son of Æneas (Hom. Il. ii. v. 639). This city is said to have been abandoned by its inhabitants (Strab. x. p. 451), owing to the ravages of Demetrius II., King of Macedonia, B.C. 239–229. The second, NEW PLEURON (ἡ νεωτέρα Πλευρών), which was built by the inhabitants of

the elder city, in consequence of the former being no longer habitable. It is stated by Pausanias (vii. 11, § 3), that a little while before the destruction of Corinth (B.C. 146) NEW PLEURON, then a member of the Achæan League, petitioned the Romans to be dissevered from it. The site of the new town has been examined in modern times with more or less care, by Dodwell ('Tour through Greece,' i. 96), Leake ('Northern Greece,' i. 115), and Mure ('Tour in Greece,' i. 140).

No coins have been discovered that can be attributed to either of these cities.

I will now leave Mr. Colnaghi to tell his own story.

W. S. W. VAUX.

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Missolonghi, June, 1860.

MY DEAR ——,

I send herewith a short journal of my first tour through Acarnania. I was not able to see all I wished, as there is some difficulty in overcoming the prejudices of the peasants to strangers, and in inducing them to point out where remains are; moreover, official duties compelled my return to Missolonghi earlier than I had intended.

*May* 14, *Monday*.—Missolonghi to Vrachori, eight hours.

We ride across the plain of Missolonghi, leaving the ruins of New Pleuron on our right. In the plain, behind, is the town of Aitolico, which is placed on an island in the centre of a placid lake; the olives are in full

bloom; further on, the road is lined by the *Rhamnus palustris*, a graceful plant with light green leaves and a yellow flower. At nine we entered the Klissoura Gorge, a magnificent chasm, which forms a way through Mount Aracynthus, to the upper plain of Ætolia. During the upheaval of this range of mountains, this gorge, which forms a rectangle, and is about two miles in length, was probably caused by an earthquake. The mountains on either side of the narrow path through which the traveller passes, rise nearly two thousand feet in height; the summits are castellated, and appear like the ruins of feudal castles; there are fine caves in various parts. The mountains are of limestone, now blue, now red; the tops are covered with trees, which appear like mere bushes; and the sides of the hills and the narrow valley are rich in vegetation. Cattle, sheep, and goats graze on the mountain side; and fine eagles soar overhead. Halfway through the gorge is a ruined monastery, a conventional halting-place. Looking back, the view is glorious; through the entrance of the gorge you see the plain and head of the lake of Aitolico, with mountain rising above mountain, of a deep blue colour, in the distance. From the monastery the road ascends slightly. The scenery becomes still wilder; vast boulders of rock lie in the path, and the masses of mountains are sterner and more solid. A small barrack for gendarmes stands on a rock at the head of the Klissoura. We now pass through a richly-wooded valley, with a mountain-stream running rapidly through it. Planes, elms, and other trees, are growing in wild luxuriance. In an hour and a half, on ascending a hill, we have a fine view of the upper plain of Ætolia, with

its two lakes (Hyria and Trichonia), surrounded by woods. In the plain we ride through forests of Valonea oaks; by the lakes are willows, poplars, and a thick jungle of underwood,—excellent cover for woodcock. The plain is partially cultivated with corn, but the style of agriculture is very primitive, and the plough, with the oxen yoked together by a single bar of wood, is of the same form as in the time of Homer.

We halt at the Khan of Alaibé, at the entrance of the Turkish causeway, which crosses the marsh between the two lakes. On either side of the paved road, elms, poplars, willows, and fig-trees, with wild vines and creeping plants pendent from their branches, rise in graceful confusion, and join their branches overhead, forming a canopy impervious even to a Greek sun. This wood extends two miles, after which we come to a fine glade of oaks, and then turn on to the open plain, riding west. We cross a river shaded by plane-trees, and have a fine view. On our right rises the loft summit of Arabocephalo, at this moment covered with fleecy clouds. Before us, looking west, is the plain of Ætolia, with the vale of the Achelous, bounded by the bold mountains of Acarnania. On the left of the plain the ruined citadel of Angelo Castro may be observed. On the right a small white house, on an eminence, marks the site of Stratus, above which is the modern village of Lepenu. In one hour and a quarter, the gardens of Vrachori, planted with vines and tobacco, commence; in another hour we reach the village itself.

Vrachori, or Agrinion as it is also called, though not built on the site of the ancient city of that name, is well placed on a rising ground, about the centre of

the plain. It contains about three thousand inhabitants, and as the *chef-lieu* of the Eparchy of Trichonia is graced by the presence of an Eparch, a *juge de paix*, a commandant of gendarmerie, and two companies of regular troops. It has a trade in tobacco and grain.

*Tuesday, 15th May.*—The road from Vrachori to Stratus (three hours) leads us through the plain, past the ruined Turkish village of Zapandi,—where the remains of two mosques and their minarets are memorials of Mussulman dominion now gone by. Thence we descend to the bed of the Achelous, but before reaching the river we pass (one hour and a quarter from Vrachori), the Calyvia of Spolaiti, where I noticed some very large blocks of country stone, and appearances of walls on the mountain on the right. From this point we enter the vale of the Achelous, and passing over some meadow land, covered with wild pear-trees, soon reach the bed of the river, which here is about three-quarters of a mile in breadth. We forded two or three shallow streams, till we came to the principal one, which runs rapidly down by the right bank. The ferry boat came over to meet us, and we were landed safely on the opposite shore. Soon after we entered the ruins of Stratus. By the river-bank the women of the Vlach village of Surovigli, built among the ruins, were washing their clothes. Some were handsome, and their blue and red dresses—rather succinct—had a very picturesque appearance.

The city of Stratus was the principal town of Acarnania, and was frequently mentioned during the Roman and Macedonian wars. The town was strongly fortified. Stratus was built on a spur of Mount Petala, which runs down by the river into the vale of

the Achelous. On a height three-quarters of a mile from the plain was the Acropolis. From the Acropolis the walls were carried down on the east side by the river, on the west to the plain, and enclosed four irregular branches of the spur, running north and south. Down the centre ridge was a wall, apparently dividing the town into two parts. The whole circuit of the walls, which, according to Colonel Leake, are two miles and a half in circumference, may still be traced.

At the eastern corner of the south wall, facing the plain, is a postern gate, flanked by a tower, which forms an oblique angle with the gate. The two blocks forming the architrave of the gate on the outside are cut so as to form an arch. The blocks of which the walls are built, are in layers of irregular size and rough workmanship, but carefully fitted together.

Proceeding west, along the line of walls, I came to an arched building, formed of larger limestone blocks, most carefully fitted together without cement. The arch begins after the first row of blocks, each block being slightly curved inward. On the east side is a square doorway, blocked up externally by a square mass of rock. The arch at the end of the building forms the segment of a circle. This building, which is nine feet five inches in length by six feet four inches in breadth, can only have been used as a tomb. Its present height to the key-stone of the arch is five feet. The key-stone is most carefully fitted down the centre of the building. This tomb runs due north and south, and is situated about twenty paces outside the city walls. Close by is another tomb, formed of four squared blocks, which has been opened.

At the south-west corner of the walls is another postern gate, resembling in general character the one already described.

On the summit of a hill on the western side of the city are the ruins of a temple. Drums and bases of columns, with squared blocks and architraves, are mingled together in shapeless confusion. The temple had apparently never been finished; some of the drums and bases are cut into the Doric form, others are half finished, while the remainder are merely rounded with the knobs, round which ropes were attached to bring them from the quarries still left. In the plain below were many blocks, formerly belonging to the temple.

Down the centre of the town runs a valley, which has much the appearance of a hippodrome. On the steep side of a hill to the east of this, are the remains of many houses, built in terraces. The theatre may be traced in a hollow on the south side of the town. But very little is left of it. The position of the seats may still be traced. The diameter is about fifty paces. The theatre commands a view of the plain, partially obstructed by an advancing spur of the hill.

Following the line of the interior wall, which seems to have run north and south from the Acropolis to the plain, we come to a gate ten feet wide facing east and west, flanked by two towers. Under the wall of the Acropolis, which forms the highest peak on the north side, is a square slab, with marks on it as if it had been the base of a statue. There appears to have been an inscription on the face, which is quite worn out. The walls of the Acropolis are well and solidly built; from the summit is a fine view showing the green vale of the Achelous and mountains beyond. On

the left, the plain of Ætolia loses itself in the mountain range above Naupactus. My guide over the ruins styled himself the Didaskalos (or schoolmaster) of the village. He had travelled with Mr. Leon Heuzey, a member of the French school at Athens, and under his guidance had become a zealous, and really acute antiquarian. I stayed in the house of Mika Janco, the chief of the Karagounides, the shepherd-tribe who live at Surovigli. During summer they retire to the mountains above Carpenisi. Mika had a house, but the rest of the village consisted chiefly of Calyvia, or huts built of reeds, much resembling, I should fancy, Indian wigwams. My host was a fine old man, and treated me with much hospitality. He was fierce against the Turks, and told me his village could turn out sixty or seventy muskets. He is rich, possessing flocks and herds, and land, but says that he prefers living in Vlach or shepherd-style, of which dirt and fleas form a prominent feature, than indulging in the chairs and tables of the Frank, of whom he, in common with the inhabitants of Greece, generally, entertains a cordial dislike. Jealousy of strangers is still the most marked feature of the inhabitants of this country. When they know you, they are all hospitality, but till they do, you are treated with extraordinary distrust.

*Wednesday, May* 16.—Stratus (Surovigli) to Caravasera, six hours.

Left Stratus at 9.15 A.M. About fifteen minutes to the west of the village, in the plain which is called Alonia, are the remains of a large building with squared blocks for a pavement. At 11.10 we reached the khan and military station of Kouvara. The road through

which we had passed, had led us first through the plain of the Achelous. We then, turning to the north, rode through a valley; the mountains and vale covered with fine forests of the valonea oak. This part of Acarnania has only been cleared of brigands since 1856. Between 1850 and 1855 more than forty persons were killed in this pass by the robbers; and the khan of Kouvara was three times burnt down by them: once, I believe, with the proprietor inside. This was also the high-road for the expedition into Turkey in 1854.

From Kouvara the valley, which is undulating, narrows at first, till in half an hour we reach the head of the Lake of Caravasera, where the fields are cultivated. Shortly after we pass the military station of Ridio, at the entrance of a fine oak forest, through which we ride for more than an hour. Passing over open ground by the lake, we cross the valley at the end of it, and ascending a rocky hill, enter a narrow pass, which in a few minutes takes us to Caravasera.

Caravasera is a rising commercial town, containing about two hundred houses. It is situate on a narrow ledge between the mountains and the sea, at the end of a fine bay, forming the south-east angle of the Ambraciot Gulf. It is the chief town of the Eparchy of Valto, has an export trade in valonea and wool, and imports coffee, sugar, and manufactured goods for the use of the province.

*Thursday, May* 17.— On the stony mountain behind the town, are situate the ruins of the city of Limnæa. The walls were carried round the crest of the hill, and down to the sea on the east and west sides. The wall on the west supported a road, which probably

led up to the principal entrance to the town. The walls have been greatly destroyed, but the whole circuit can be traced. They appear to have been carefully built, of large limestone blocks, fitted together without cement, with towers at various intervals. A colony of Albanians was planted among the ruins by the celebrated Ali Pasha of Janina. The remains of their church and houses are still to be seen. From the top of the hill looking south is a fine view of the valley we passed through yesterday, surrounded by mountains, with the lake which probably gave its name to the town. Towards the north, the Ambraciot Gulf, with the bold and lofty mountains of Arta, are spread out before us.

The wall down the side of the hill on the north-east side was well and strongly built of large blocks of various sizes, well fitted together, though roughly hewn on the outside. In some parts the interior lining of the wall was of polygonal masonry. The wall forms an angle on approaching the base of the hill. About halfway down is a postern gate resembling those at Stratus.

Caravasera to Lutraki, three hours and a half.

The exit from the town is over a steep and stony mountain, which has to be crossed on foot, for road there is none. More than an hour's walk over barren hill, when we descend into a plain, and see the large village of Catuna, on the mountains to the south-west. We now pass through a splendid forest of valonea oaks, down and round the side of a mountain, with once a little peep of the sea through an opening in the wood. The road then turned down a valley, and over a hill, covered with trees with graceful foliage, till we

came upon the Bay of Lutraki, a beautiful little creek. It was just evening, and a quiet glow softened the whole scene. Lutraki consists of a few huts and magazines, situated on a fertile plain, at the edge of the creek. There is a beautiful group of plane-trees in the village.

*Friday, May* 18.—Lutraki to Vonitza, five hours and a half.

About fifteen minutes to the west of the village, we cross a river with steep banks and a wooden bridge. An old Turkish or mediæval bridge of stone once spanned the stream, round which is a fine wood of plane-trees. On the top of a small hill are the remains of buildings with some ancient blocks in the centre, and the foundations of walls round. All over the hill are blocks of stone, and coarse pottery.

The chief remains appear to be mediæval or Byzantine, but there are some ancient blocks. Their position is distant about five minutes from the sea. For two hours we passed over the plain—generally cultivated with corn—when we descended into a glen, where there is a Turkish well surrounded by fine trees, and the remains of a paved road. We now pass up the mountain side in a southerly direction and enter an undulating valley, partially cultivated and partially covered with trees and thick underwood, through which we ride. We soon come to the remains of some ancient buildings. On a knoll to the right of the road are ruins composed of squared blocks, part of a column, some coarse tiles, and portions of more modern buildings. A little further on, in a small chapel, are two small columns. The whole wood, which is on rising ground, is filled with the remains of an ancient city—according to Leake—that

of Echinus. I saw no monuments worthy of remark; but the wood should be explored, as inscriptions might be found there. As we near the village, we pass the walls of the town, built of large squared blocks, but in a very ruined state. They cross a ravine at this point, down which a torrent runs in winter. The acropolis appears to have been on an eminence on the north side of the village, on which is the modern church. There are the remains of buildings here, composed of large blocks of a kind of pudding-stone. The acropolis commanded the whole city, which had a circuit of about one mile and a half or two miles, and extended round two hills to the level ground in the valley. From this spot there is a fine view—a stretch of undulating country, covered with corn and woods—as far as Vonitza, the fortified hill of which town is just visible by the sea. Beyond the town is Cape Madonna. On the opposite coast Prevesa may be seen, while on the left, across the gulf, rise the fine mountains of Epirus.

From Ai Vasili, we passed down into a rich valley, cultivated with corn—having on our left the mountains about Zaverda and those of Sta. Maura. In about one hour and a half we saw some squared blocks on the right of the road, on a little knoll on the left, a fine wooded ravine. In a quarter of an hour we descended into the plain of Vonitza. On a round hill called Magoula, in the plain, is an Hellenic wall. In about an hour and a half we enter Vonitza. The town is built on a bold oblong hill, which rises abruptly from the plain by the sea, and is crowned by a Venetian castle. Gardens are prettily interspersed among the houses. Vonitza contains about one thousand four hundred inhabitants, and is the chief town of the

Eparchy of Zyromero. There is a trade in wool, and when the harvest is good Indian corn is exported to Prevesa.

*Saturday, May* 19.—Started about nine A.M. for Agios Petros (Anactorium) *en route* for Actium (four hours).

We passed along the plain to Cape Madonna, and then crossed the base of the cape through a thick cover of *Rhamnus palustris*. About five minutes before arriving at Agios Petros (a deserted chapel), I saw several Greek tombs, formed of squared slabs, situated a little off the path, at a place called Ambelakia. The tombs had been opened, and I only saw a few pieces of coarse pottery lying about. We emerged from here into a little plain covered with shrubs and stones, by the sea. On our right is a hill, probably the acropolis of Anactorium; in the valley is a marsh. Under the hill are the remains of a building formed of large blocks of blue limestone. Round the edge of the cliff, for about a mile, are here and there blocks, apparently the remains of a sea-wall; from the top of the hill is a fine view of the Gulf of Arta, and the mountains of Epirus.

We now forded a small bay. On a hill, but overgrown with thick cover, are some ancient blocks. I saw some Greek remains in two or three other places as we passed along. In the thick of the wood, by a small stream, are the remains of an ancient wall, composed of large squared blocks; and in the bed of the stream, I found two or three pieces of an ancient vase. The shepherds who were guiding us through the forest, told me that they had found several vases in tombs about here, but had broken them up. The place is called Arkondavlaco. We rode on from here to the promon-

tory of Actium. At the base of the sandy spit of land ends the Greek territory, Turkey commanding both sides of the entrance to the Gulf of Arta. We rode over the plain where Antony's troops were encamped before the celebrated battle of Actium, and soon after reached Fort Punta, where is a garrison of Turkish soldiers. Across the channel is situated the town of Prevesa; the distance of this shore to the other is about half a mile.

I crossed over to Prevesa in the afternoon. Prevesa is a town of about five thousand inhabitants, consisting of Turks, Greeks, and Jews. It is well fortified, and has a strong garrison. About an hour from the town, are the ruins of Nicopolis, or the City of Victory, built by Augustus after his victory at Actium. The road to the ruins leads through a beautiful olive-wood. The ruins are very fine from their immense extent, and stand in an open plain, stretching down on both sides to the sea. The principal remains are the citadel, the baths, the small theatre, and the large amphitheatre, close to which is the stadium. All the buildings are of Roman brickwork. It is probable that some of the more important were cased in marble. The whole scene reminds one of Italy more than of Greece.

*Tuesday, May* 22.—Left Prevesa by the Austrian steamer for Sta. Maura. We passed over the spot where the naval action was fought between the rival fleets of Antony and Augustus, outside the Bay of Prevesa, and in an hour were at Sta. Maura. The town (Amaxichi) is situate at the end of a lagoon about a mile and a half in length. The castle, which is principally Venetian, is placed at the head of the lagoon, and is

only separated from the neighbouring coast of Acarnania, of which, at one time, the island formed a part, by a narrow strait, which is fordable below the town. A canal to enable vessels to approach the town is being cut, and though not yet finished, has already cost £30,000. Amaxichi contains about five thousand inhabitants; the island twenty-five thousand. The inhabitants of the interior are called Leucadians, after the ancient name of the island Leucas, and are most indignant if called Santa-Mauriotes, a name which properly belongs to the fortress only. Sta. Maura is fertile, and produces oil and wine in large quantities. Round the town there are beautiful olive-groves, which form pleasant walks. The houses are low, on account of the frequency of earthquakes. In 1825, the town was entirely destroyed by an earthquake, and a Turkish aqueduct which conveyed water to the citadel, and established a communication between the town and the fort, was likewise ruined. The churches are low, with belfries, and have rather a Venetian air, which indeed pervades the whole town. The ruins of the ancient city of Leucas are situated on two hills, about a mile and a half south-east of the town, and extends down to the sea. The walls ascending the hill are composed of large blocks roughly squared, and in some parts are polygonal. They appear to have been of immense strength. The ancient port was at a spot now called Spasmeni Vrisi, from a fountain. The sea has receded here. Many tombs have been found on a hill by the walls of the old city. I copied several fragmentary inscriptions from tombs. A gate of the city, and large portions of the walls were taken down by a former Resident, to build a church outside the town. The

church is not built, and the olive-grove near it is filled with the blocks taken from Leucas.

*Friday, 25th May.*—Rowed over to Palaiochalia and are once more in Acarnania. Palaiochalia to Kekropoula, three hours.

We leave Palaiochalia at 11.30, and pass through a pretty valley partially cultivated. In an hour cross over to the mountain on the left, and through the village of Playa, which contains eighty-two families. Our road now takes us through a fine oak forest, up the mountain side in a southerly direction. In two hours more we pass the remains of buildings in the wood, and soon see the ruins at Kekropoula which are placed on the crest of a steep and rocky hill, on the north side, and looking into the plain of Zaverda. These ruins may mark the site of the city of Palærus. The city was built round the crest of two hills; in the centre is a valley forming a natural amphitheatre. The walls are built of squared blocks of stone, and in parts are cyclopæan. The entire circuit of the walls exists, but they are more perfect on the west and north-west than on the other sides.

In the interior of the west wall are a flight of steps, leading up to the battlements, in perfect preservation. The height of the wall at this place is thirty-nine feet.

On the north-west side of the town is an arched gateway,—the arch, formed of blocks carefully cut to the position of each and well fitted together without cement. From here there is a fine view of the Gulf of Arta. On the plain beneath is the Lake Myrtuntium. Inside the town, facing north, are the foundations of a building formed of large squared blocks. Facing the south-west is a square gateway, with a tower on the east side.

In the valley below the city are many tombs, chiefly formed of four squared slabs. But I noticed among them some large crocks, *Pithi*, similar to those found by Mr. Calvert on the plain of Troy.* The tombs had been open, the slabs broken being required for the belfry of the church at Zaverda.

We now passed down the plain of Zaverda, through cornfields intermixed with the *Rhamnus palustris* and oak-trees. We had a fine view of the blue sea and blue hills of Santa Maura, Cefalonia, and Ithaca.

The village of Zaverda is prettily situated in a little creek; behind the village rises a fine rocky mountain, called Livitova. Zaverda contains about twelve hundred inhabitants; its principal trade is in the export of cattle for the use of the garrisons of the Ionian Islands.

Left Zaverda at 11.30 P.M., in a country-boat with lateen sails, for Mytica, a village situate on a point of land in a fertile plain, opposite the lofty and rocky island of Calamo. The day was hot, and we were pressed for time, and could only ride over to the village of Candela, on the north side of the plain, where are the ruins of Alyzia, which we only were able to inspect superficially. I copied two or three inscriptions. There is excellent red-deer shooting in the mountains about here.

From Mytica a fair wind carried us down in seven hours to San Sosti, at the head of the lagoon of Missolonghi. We passed the bold mountains of Acarnania, the mouth of the Acheloüs, and between the group of islands (the Echinades) which lie off there. The next morning early we were anchored off the town of Missolonghi.

* 'Archæological Journal,' xvi. p. 1.

## MEASUREMENTS, ETC.

*Gate.—South Wall.—Stratus.*

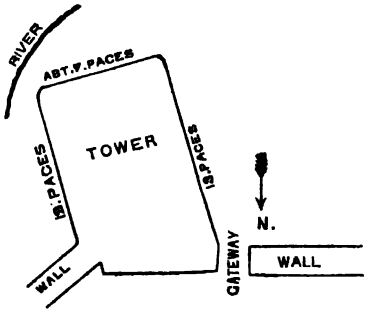
| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Height of gate to base of arched stone . . . | 8 | 0 |
| Height to centre of arch | 10 | 0 |
| Width of gate . . . | 5 | 3 |
| Depth of wall . . . | 8 | 6 |

*Size of some of the Blocks of Wall.*

| | ft. | in. | ft. | in. | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Height... | 3 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 6 |
| Depth ... | 1 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| Length,.. | 4 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 9 |

Present height of wall 13 ft. 6 in.

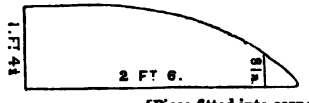
*Rough Sketch.—Gate and Tower.*




*Arched Tomb outside south wall, west corner, Stratus.*

| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Present height to centre of arch . . . . . | 5 | 0 |
| Length . . . . . | 9 | 5 |
| Breadth . . . . . | 6 | 4 |
| Doorway, height (about) | 2 | 6 |
| Breadth . . . . . | 2 | 7 |

*Rounded block at end of Tomb.*




[Piece fitted into corner.

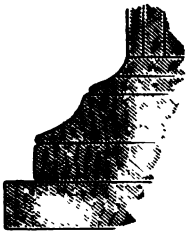
*Square Tomb by arched building.*

| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Length of tomb . . . | 5 | 9 |
| Breadth . . . . . | 2 | 0 |
| Thickness of each slab (about) . . . . . | 0 | 3 |

*Temple, Stratus.*

| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Diameter of drum of column (unfinished) . . | 4 | 1 |
| Diameter of base of column (unfinished) . . | 3 | 1 |
| Length of architrave with triglyph . . . . . | 7 | 11 |
| Width between each channelling . . . . | 0 | 7 |

*Section f base of Column.*

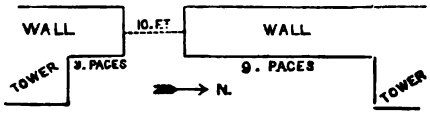


*Length, etc., of block, in plain below Temple.*

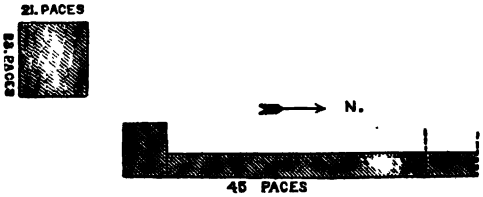
| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Length . . . . . | 5 | 4 |
| Breadth . . . . . | 4 | 2 |
| Depth . . . . . | 0 | 7 |

Diameter of theatre, about fifty paces.

*Rough Sketch of Gate in interior wall, Stratus.*




*Foundations of buildings in the plain of Alonia, near Stratus.*



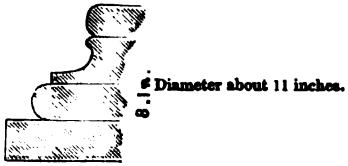

*maea, size of blocks of walls on hill.*

| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Length . . . . . | 3 | 0 |
| „ . . . . . | 2 | 3 |
| „ . . . . . | 4 | 6 |
| Height . . . . . | 1 | 7 |
| Depth . . . . . | 1 | 6 |

*Arched Gate, wall descending to sea.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Height of gate to centre of arch . . . . . | 6 | 2 |
| Diameter of ditto . . | 3 | 9 |
| Depth of wall . . . . | 5 | 4 |

*Echinus.*




Section of base of column.

*Block in Acropolis, Echinus.*

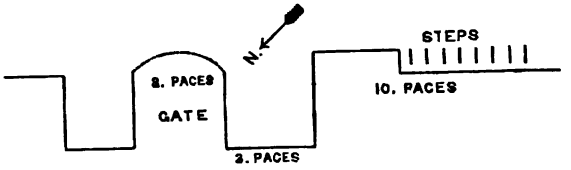
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Length . . . . | about | 3 | 0 |
| Height . . . . | „ | 1 | 0 |
| Depth . . . . | „ | 2 | 0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Block forming arch on right . . . | 7 4 by 1 2 |
| Ditto on left . . . | 5 0 „ 1 2 |

*Anactorium. Block. Ruins of building under hill.*

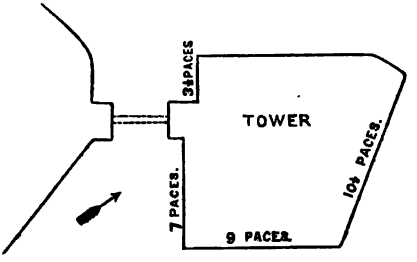
| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Length . . . . . | 5 | 9 |
| Height . . . . . | 1 | 10 |
| Depth . . . . . | 1 | 0 |

*Rough Sketch of Gate, north-west wall of Kekropoula.*




Present height of gate six feet. Length of passage into town, eight paces.

*Gateway facing south-west Kekropoula. Rough sketch.*




*South-west Gate, Kekropoula.*

| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Breadth of supports of gate . . . . . | 4 | 3 |
| Width of gate . . . . | 7 | 8 |
| Height . . . . . | 8 | 5 |
| Stone architrave, length . | 11 | 7 |
| „ „ breadth | 2 | 6 |
| „ „ depth . | 1 | 0 |

*Steps in west wall, Kekropoula.*

| | ft. | in. |
|---|---|---|
| Length of step . . . | 4 | 0 |
| Height „ . . . | 1 | 0 |

Stones forming west wall generally 2 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 5 in.

*Tomb in Valley.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Length . . . . . | 5 | 7 |
| Width . . . . . | 2 | 1½ |
| Depth . . . . . | 2 | 3 |
| Breadth of slabs . . . | 0 | 4½ |

## NEW PLEURON.

A, New Pleuron. B, Gyfto Castro. C, Petro Vouni.

*Situation.* — The ruins which now bear the name of the Castle of the Lady Irene (*Κάστρον τῆς Κυρίας Εἰρήνης*), and which are generally considered to be those of New Pleuron (*ἡ νεωτέρα Πλευρών*), are situate on a spur of Mount Zygos (Aracynthus), which stretches out into the plain of Misssolonghi, about three miles to the west of that town.

The walls of the city extend round the broad summit of a lower hill, and are carried up to the top of the spur, which rises about six hundred feet above it, where they join the acropolis, which is surrounded by a wall with towers.

The walls of Pleuron are built of large blocks of limestone, carefully fitted together, though irregular in size and form. The interior is filled with rubble. The town walls are between 6 and 7 feet in thickness, those of the acropolis 8 feet.

Nearly the entire circuit of the city, about one mile and a quarter, is preserved. Though in parts much ruined, the walls are still, in some places, from 18 to 20 feet in height. In the steepest parts of the north-east wall, leading to the acropolis, steps are built to facilitate the ascent.

*Gates.*—There are six gates (not including the entrances to the Acropolis, or the doors in Tower 3), of

which the principal was at the south-west angle of the city (Pl. I. A. and Pl. IV.). From this gate the road appears to have passed in a north-east direction, keeping, at first, near the town wall. The block which formed the lintel of the doorway is 12 feet in length. In the west wall is an arched gate, which is interesting (Pl. I. C. and Pl. VI.). It is not unlikely, from the form of some blocks lying near, that the ruined gate (Pl. I. D.) in the north-west wall was also arched. Pleuron is, I believe, the only Ætolian city where arched gateways have been found. The gate in the eats wall (Pl. I. F.) is described by Dodwell, 'Tour through Greece,' p. 96.

*Towers.*—The towers have generally a front of from 18 to 20 feet, and project about 11 feet from the wall; the corner blocks are carefully cushioned. The steps leading up to the towers, on the inside of the wall, are preserved in many places. Tower 3 (Pl. I. B. and Pl. V.) has two postern-gates, perhaps for the convenience of the *habitués* of the theatre, which is close to it. This tower has two loopholes. The towers in the north-east wall, leading to the acropolis, are distinguished from the rest by being divided into four compartments by cross walls. Thirty-six towers, more or less ruined, can now be seen.

*Acropolis.*—The acropolis is in very bad preservation; but little more than the foundations of the walls and towers exist. It contains no remains of ancient buildings, but in the interior of a ruined chapel is a fragment of a small Doric column, 1 foot 2 inches in diameter. The column is of white country-stone.

*Polis.*—The ruins of the city itself are thickly scattered over the uneven summit of the lower hill, which

is rocky and now covered with underwood. The foundations of several edifices, carefully built of large blocks of limestone, may be met with in various parts of the city, but they are in a very ruinous condition.

*Agora and adjacent Buildings.*—The principal block of buildings, on a level space on the eastern side of the town (Pl. I. G. and Pl. III.), probably represents the Agora, which was built of large blocks beautifully squared. Before its western front, which is utterly ruined, many rounded and squared blocks, portions of architraves and pilasters are scattered. It would seem as if they had belonged to a portico, which extended the whole length of the building. A few paces to the south, and a little behind the Agora, are the foundations of a square building. On the eastern front is a tower,[1] by the side of which is a semicircular recess (Pl. III.). Opposite the Agora, in the same group of buildings, is a square chamber (25 feet by 20) hollowed out of the rock, but built round with well-squared blocks. Six steps lead down to the interior. The walls were covered with a cement, composed, apparently, of lime mixed with pounded flint. I think this was probably a cistern.

*Great Cistern, etc.*—The great cistern (Pl. I. H. and Pl. II.) is near the centre of the town. It is an excavation in the rock, about 88 feet in length by 69 feet in breadth. Across the excavation four walls are built of carefully-squared blocks, which divide it into five compartments. The western division is the narrowest, and was covered at the top by large blocks. The walls have triangular openings at the base, and are about 21 feet in height. The rock, at the eastern end,

[1] The foundations only remain.

is cut to a depth of about 50 feet. On the north side steps roughly cut in the rock, to assist the descent to the interior, may be traced.

Near Tower 33, in the south wall of the city (Pl. I. L.), is a small excavation about 13 feet in length and 10 feet in height. The walls were covered with the cement, already noticed in the cistern near the Agora, and the top was covered with large slabs in which circular holes, about 1 foot 4 inches in diameter, were cut. In one corner, about 9 feet from the ground, is a round earthenware pipe, which leads at the top of the work, in all probability, to some building close at hand. This smaller excavation, I am inclined to think, was also a reservoir.

Not far from the great cistern, though I could not see that it has any connection with it, is a low passage, about 5 feet under ground, covered with bricks which are well made, and about 1 foot 4 inches in length. This passage seems like a ruined watercourse, but most likely it belongs to a later period, when the city was in the hands of the Romans. It must have taxed the resources of the inhabitants to supply the town with water on this rocky hill.

*Theatre.*—The theatre (Pl. I. B. and Pl. V.), which is 88 feet in diameter, is situate close to the west wall. It is partially excavated in the hill side, and partly supported by walls composed of large squared blocks. Eight rows of plain seats can still be distinguished in the interior, which is greatly ruined and covered with thick underwood. A wall, the foundations of which can be faintly traced, seems to have separated the stage from the town wall.

*No Inscriptions.*—I have met with no inscriptions at

Pleuron, neither have I seen traces of any sculpture or ornament with the exception of the mouldings of the architraves before the west front of the Agora, which are very simple, and a small block in front of the theatre which is cut in low relief in rough resemblance of a thick spear. A small statue, much rubbed, of a draped female figure, without a head, was found in a field below the town, and is now at Missolonghi.

*Tombs.*—In the plain below the ruins I observed some fragments of crocks, resembling those noticed *ante*, p. 17, and some small vases have been found in tombs, on the hill-side, which were built of four slabs of country-stone.[1]

*View from City.*—The view from the city is very fine. On the east and south-east may be seen the site of Calydon, Mount Varasova (Chalcis), the plain and town of Missolonghi, and in the distance the Gulf of Patras, bounded by the mountains of the Peloponnesus. On the west, beneath us, we see the Gulf and town of Aitolico; and further on, the plain of the Achelous, the villages of Catochi and Neochori, the site of Œniadæ: the whole bounded by Cephalonia and Ithaca, across the Ionian Sea. This scene bears out the description of Statius, which has been pointed out to me by a friend:

> . . . . . "Si patriis Parthaonis arvis
> Inferar et reduci pateat mihi Martia Pleuron:
> Aurea tunc mediis urbis tibi templa dicabo
> Collibus, Ionias qua despectare procellas
> Dulce sit, et flavo tollens ubi vertice pontum

[1] On the hill side, below Tower 33, are two tombs cut in the rock (Sheet 2, No. 10).

Turbidus objectas Achelous Echinadas exit.
Hic ego majorum pugnas vultusque tremendos
Magnanimum effingam regum, figamque superbis
Arma tholis, quæque ipse meo quæsita revexi
Sanguine, quæque dabis captis, Tritonia, Thebis.
Centum ibi vîrgineis votæ Calydonides aris
Actæas tibi rite faces, et ab arbore castâ
Nectent purpureas niveo discrimine vittas
Pervigilemque focis ignum longæva sacerdos
Nutriet, arcanum nunquam inspectura pudorem."[1]

The poet alludes to Old Pleuron, but was probably thinking of the position of the later city.

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## GYFTO CASTRO AND PETRO VOUNI.

*Situation.*—The ruins at Gyfto Castro and Petro Vouni are situate on two low, rounded, and very rocky hills, spurs of Mount Zygos, but separated from the main range and the ruins of New Pleuron, below which they are, by a narrow strip of plain, through which flows a mountain torrent. Petro Vouni is the southernmost of the two hills. The Lagoon of Missolonghi is distant about one mile and three-quarters.

*Preservation.*—The ruins on these hills are in the worst preservation; in many places it is difficult even to trace the line of walls, and in no part are the walls more than 8 feet in height. They are of but very little interest in themselves, beyond marking the site of a city, which seems anterior to New Pleuron, and which Colonel Leake considers to have been Old Pleuron (ἡ παλαιὰ Πλευρών). It is difficult to find an alto-

[1] Statius, Th ii. 726–41.

gether satisfactory site for this city, the great rival of Calydon.

*Enceinte, Gyfto Castro.*—The wall surrounding Gyfto Castro (Pl. VII. I.) is built of blocks of various sizes, roughly placed together without mortar. The foundations of the towers on the south side are more regular in construction. The wall which joins the enceinte on the south side was built of large blocks, and I notice in it the foundations of two round towers. The walls have been rebuilt and added to, probably at various periods, but always, I think, on the old foundations.

*Acropolis.*—The acropolis is in a very ruinous condition, and it is very difficult to give any idea of it. The tower at the east end was built of small blocks, regularly squared, as was likewise the square building on the west. Between the acropolis and wall on the south, are the remains of walls and buildings of rough construction.

*Petro Vouni.*—The wall leading up the eastern side and south front of Petro Vouni, at the west end of which its traces are lost, was formerly joined to the wall of Gyfto Castro. The principal gate of the town was probably on the level ground between the two hills, and was composed of large blocks roughly squared. The wall, which is entirely in ruins, appears to have been built of large blocks of limestone and was probably about 8 feet in width. The interior rubble alone remains, in many instances, to mark its course; and I cannot help thinking, from the disappearance of such large blocks, that they were employed in the construction of New Pleuron.

In the plain, below Petro Vouni, are the remains of

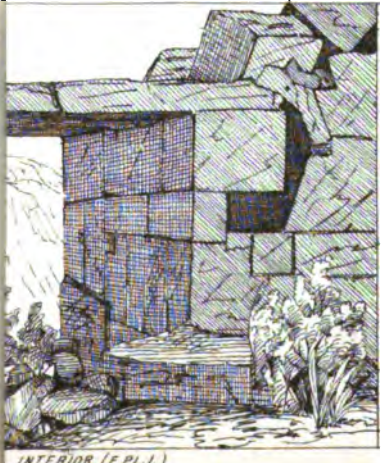
a square Hellenic building, now below the surface of the ground. The corner only, which is built of large blocks of white stone, has been uncovered to obtain stone for the steeple of the parish church of Missolonghi. In this building a few small silver coins were found among them; one, I think, of Argos, one of Sicyon, and another of Ætolia; but I write from recollection.

The plans, which accompany this description, only profess to be the merest sketches. They are as accurate as I could make them, with the aid of my guide and a fifty-feet measure. The sketches I will not apologize for. I only hope they will give some faint idea of what they are intended to represent.

Missolonghi, 1861.

RIOR OF WALL (TOWER 2. PL I)

WEST WALL.



INTERIOR. (F. PL. I.)

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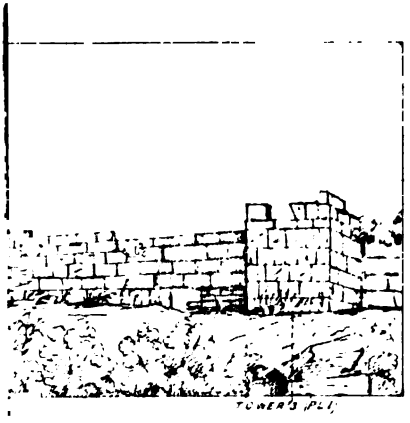
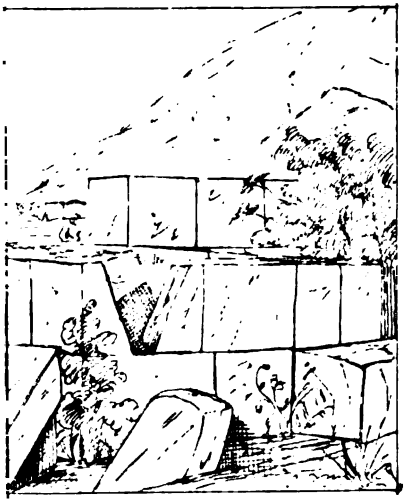
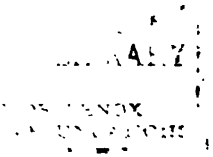
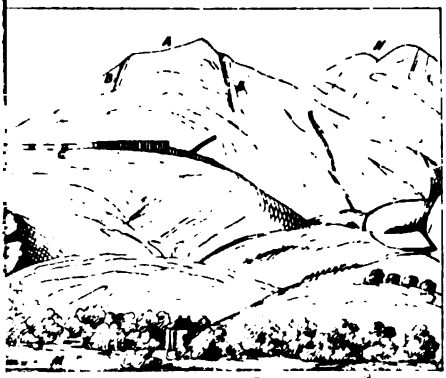


TOWER'S PLI



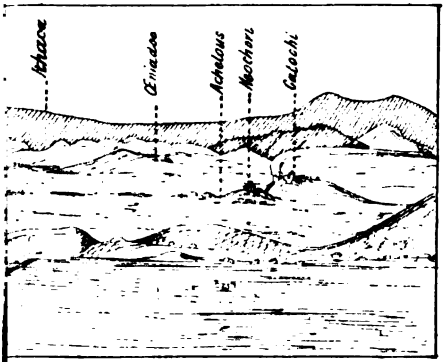
11. STATUE FOUND IN A FIELD BELOW THE CITY
MUCH RUBBED





TRO VOUNI. ( OLD PLEURON
ng to ruins from plain. F. Cyfto Castro. Ground wall
s and Gardens. N. Mt Aracynthus ( Ζυγός ) running abt

halcus) Q. Course of River Evenus. (Fidharis) to sea, through
acsus. M.M. Lagoon of Missolonghi.



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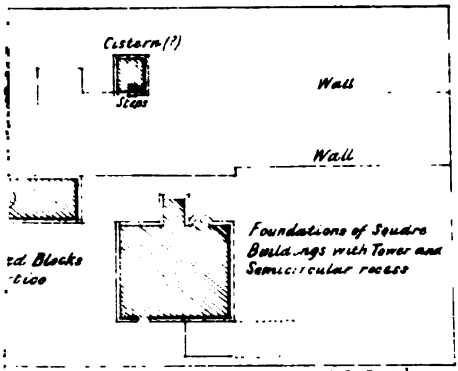
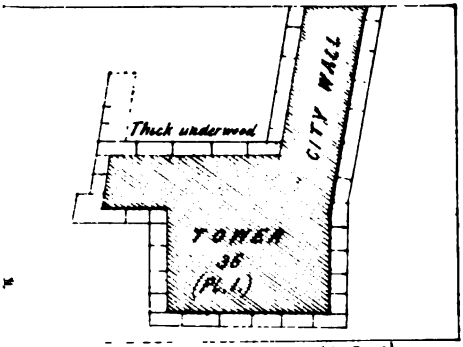
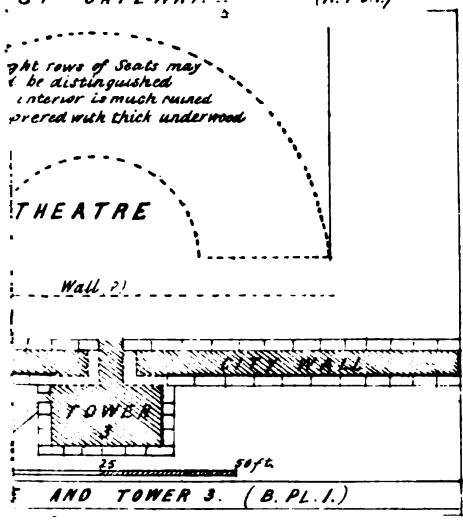



VACENT BUILDINGS . . (O. PL. I.)




ST GATEWAY. . (A. PL. I.)




AND TOWER 3. (B. PL. I.)

16 TOWER 19. IN N.E. WALL.

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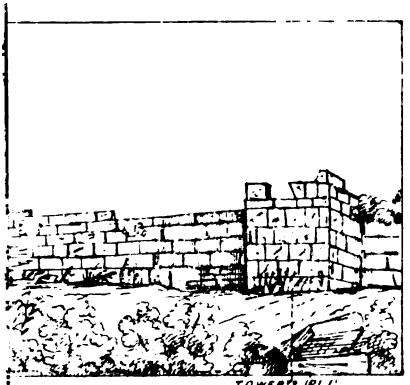
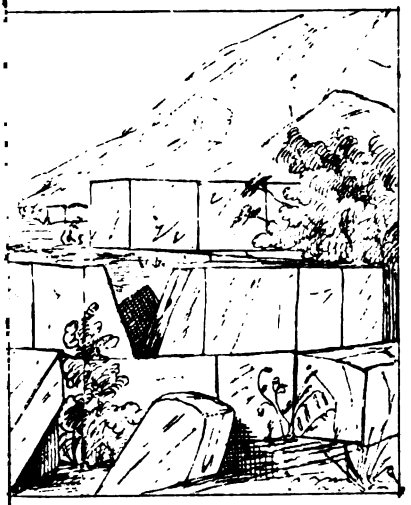


TOWER 3 (PL. I)



11. STATUE FOUND IN A FIELD BELOW THE CITY MUCH RUBBED.

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# X.—ON THE SUPPOSED SCRIPTURAL NAMES OF BAALBEC, OR THE SYRIAN HELIOPOLIS; AND ON THE CHIEF HELIOPOLITAN INSCRIPTIONS, TEMPLES, DEITIES, AND SUN-WORSHIP.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., HON. FOR. SEC. R.S.L., ETC.

(Read November 25th, 1857, and May 7th, 1862.)

It is remarkable that so few ancient inscriptions have been preserved amongst the extensive and splendid remains of Baalbec, the Syrian *Heliopolis*, or "City of the Sun;" and that the principal of those which have been there discovered are imperfect, and have been incorrectly copied by most travellers. After endeavouring to determine the original *Biblical* names of that city, I purpose to restore, as far as I am able, the chief Greek and Roman inscriptions; to illustrate them by a brief examination of the records of ancient authors; and to notice the three extremely beautiful but decayed temples, the principal deities, and the worship of the Sun as prevailed in that city.

*First.* Many writers have considered Baalbec to be identical with *Baalath*, בעלת, or *Bahalath*,[1] mentioned

[1] In using the word *Bahalath* in this memoir, I have done so with reference to it as given in the Latin, above the Hebrew, word for word, in Bryan Walton's 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta,' edit. Lond. 1657. He there renders our Baalath, *Bahalath;* Baal, *Bahal;* and Baal-gad,

in 1 Kings ix. 18, the *Βαλὰθ* of the Septuagint, which "Solomon built," but which is written *Βαλαὰς* in 2 Chron. viii. 6, in the Alexandrine, or *Βαλαὰθ*[2] in the Vatican version of the Septuagint; although in both verses of the Hebrew text the word is the same. And this, at first sight, seems highly probable, since it is coupled with "Tadmor in the wilderness," *Θερμὰθ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* (1 Kings ix. 18), or *Θεδμὸρ* (2 Chron. viii. 4), in the Alexandrine, but *Θοεδμὸρ* in the Vatican, text; which now all recognize as indisputably corresponding with *Παλμίρα* of Josephus (Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. cap. 6, sect. 1), and at this day with the "City of Palms," *Palmyra* "in the desert" of Syria. Also a *Baalath* is enumerated among the cities of *Dan*, in Joshua xix. 44, which some interpreters have supposed to be the *same* city as that *Baalath* which was built by Solomon, being confirmed in their supposition by the statement of Josephus,[3] that the *Baalath*, or *Baleth*, which Solomon founded, was *not far* from Gezer, or *Gazara*,

*Bahal-gad.* And in the same Bible, the Latin version of Paraph. Chald. renders Baalath by *Baghalath*, and Baal by *Baghala*. Also the French Bible translates these words *Bahalath* and *Bahal*. And throughout my paper I have added many original Hebrew words, as well as translations of them, where they are found to vary from those inserted in our common Bible.

[2] But in Mai's edition of the Vatican Codex, the word here is Βαλαᾶ, and in v. 4, *Tadmor* is written *Θοέδομορ*. *Vide* Edit. Romæ, 1857. So Josephus calls the last *Θαδάμορ*, Antiq. Jud. viii. 6, 1.

[3] In a former paper which I read before the Geographical Section of the British Association at Dublin, relying altogether on Josephus, I maintained that *Baalbec* could not answer to the *Baalath* of Scripture. See Report of the Brit. Association, 1858, p. 143. But a later and more careful comparison of that author with the Biblical accounts, as given in the text, has now convinced me of his mistake.

in the south-west of Palestine. On reference to the 'Antiquities of the Jews,' I find the original passage is this: *Οὐ πόῤῥω δ'αὐτῆς ἄλλας ὠκοδόμησε δύο πόλεις. Βητχώρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα Βαλὲθ ἐκαλεῖτο.*[4] "Not far from this (*Gezer*), Solomon built two cities; *Betchora* was the name of one, but the other was called *Baleth*." To this last city, which our English version terms *Baalath*, but Josephus *Baleth* (*Βαλὲθ*), the Hebrew Bible has assigned the same word בעלת, as well as to the *Baalath* in 1 Kings ix. 18, and in 2 Chron. viii. 6. And it is worthy of notice that the Latin Vulgate renders that word, *Baalath*, in 1 Kings ix. 18, but *Balaath* in Joshua xix. 44.

Yet the Vatican Septuagint translates the *Baalath* of Dan, *Gebeelan*, *Γεβεελὰν*: the Alexandrine Codex renders it *Baathoth*, *Βααθὼθ*, giving also *Βαλὼν*, *Baalon*, in the margin; and the Aldine edition has *Βαλὼθ*, *Baaloth* (see Joshua xix. 44): whereas, as I have before pointed out, the Greek names for the *Baalath* in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles are, *Balath*, *Βαλὰθ*, *Balaath*, *Βαλαὰθ*, *Balaas*, *Βαλαὰς*, and *Balaa*, *Βαλαᾶ*.

It may then be asked, do the several names of Bahalath, Baalath, Balath, Balaath, Balaas, Balaa, Gebeelan, Baathoth, Baalon, Baaloth, and Baleth, refer to one and the *same* city?

To this I answer that they assuredly do *not*; and I have formed this opinion for the following reasons:—

In the 18th verse of 1 Kings ix. it is expressly written that Solomon built "*Baalath* and *Tadmor* in the wilderness;" these two cities are coupled in the same verse as being somewhat in the *same district* in the north of Syria, in the same manner as the writer

[4] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. cap. 6, sect. 1.

had previously associated "Gezer and Bethhoron the nether," both of which were in the territory of *Dan*, in South-western Palestine, and not far apart from each other. So, in chap. viii. 2 Chronicles, verse 4, says, Solomon "built *Tadmor* in the wilderness, and all the *store cities*, which he built *in Hamath*;" that is to say, in the district or kingdom of Hamath,—the *Amathis* or *Hamathis* (1 Maccab. xii. 25), in the north of Syria, and not so very far from Tadmor in the Syrian desert. Then verse 5 states, that "he built the *two Bethhorons*," which were approximate, and in the *land of Dan*; and lastly, verse 6 associates "*Baalath* with all the *store cities*," which seems equivalent to the previous account in verse 18, 1 Kings ix., wherein "Baalath and Tadmor" are distinctly coupled.

Again, as to the *Baalath* mentioned by Joshua, xix. 44, as being part of the inheritance of the children of *Dan*, *i.e.* in the south-west of Palestine: as it is *not* stated to have been *rebuilt* by Solomon,—and especially since the Greek translators have assigned to it these different names, Gebeelan, Baathoth, Baalon, and Baaloth,—I am satisfied that it was a city perfectly *distinct* from the *Baalath* which is associated with "*Tadmor* in the wilderness," or with "all the *store cities* in *Hamath*," and which most probably answers to *Baalbec* in the district of, or between, the two Lebanons. Moreover, this *Baalath* of Joshua was in existence about four hundred and thirty years *before* the period in which Solomon is related to have *built*, his Tadmor, *his Baalath*,[5] and his Hamath store-cities.

[5] Sherif Edin states that Baalbec was built by Solomon: Hist. de Timur Beg (*Tamerlane*), trad. par Pétis de la Croix, liv. v. chap. 27; and the same is orally handed down to this day by the Arab natives.

Josephus appears to have been the chief cause of the confusion respecting these *to Bawalaths*, which seems to have arisen in this manner. He read in 1 Kings ix. 17, 18, that "Solomon built (or rather rebuilt) Gezer, and Bethhoron the nether, and *Baalath*," and in 2 Chron. viii. 5, 6, "he built Bethhoron the upper, and Bethhoron the nether.... and *Baalath*," forgetting that *that Baalath* in *Dan's* territory, which he terms *Baleth*, existed long before, even in the time of Joshua, and that it is not said that Solomon had only *rebuilt* it, like Gezer: he wrote, that Solomon "built *not far from* Gezer two other cities, one *Betchora*,"—intended, I conclude, for *Bethoron*, or *Bethhoron*—"and the other, *Baleth*."

Having thus disposed of *Baleth* in Dan's territory, the building of which the Jewish historian incorrectly attributes to King Solomon, he then proceeds to mention the store or pleasure cities, though not as being "in Hamath," and the building by Solomon of *Thadamor*,[6] or Palmira, in the wilderness; but he omits all notice of the *other Baalath*—now Baalbec—actually constructed by Solomon, not far distant from the kingdom of Hamath,[7] in, or under, Antilebanon, and founded

See, likewise, Edrisi's account, about A.D. 1150; Geogr., edit. *Jaubert*, vol. i. p. 353.

[6] The word Θαδάμορ is written either Thadmor or Tadmor. The Latin word from the Syriac is Thadmur; but from the Arabic, Tadmir.

[7] "The kingdom of *Hamath* included the whole valley of the Orontes, from the source of that river (now *El Asy*) to near Antioch, with the great plain eastward. It bordered Damascus on the south, Zobah on the east and north, and Phœnicia on the west."—Porter's 'Handbook for Syria,' vol. ii. p. 621. Emesa, or *Hemesa*, now *Hems*, or Hums, within the territory of *Hamath*, was a very an-

contemporaneously, about B.C. 1014, with the splendid and neighbouring *Tadmor*, in the great eastern desert, above or beyond Syria, in the ancient country of Zobah.

In like manner I find that another Jewish author, Benjamin of Tudela, makes a mistake in asserting that Solomon had built *Baalath* for his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh. He writes in his 'Itinerary,' about A.D. 1160, that "this (*Baalbec*) is the city which is mentioned in Scripture as *Baalath* in the valley of Lebanon, which Sh'lomo (Solomon) built for the daughter of Pharao;"[8] whereas, the city so built by Solomon was *Gezer* (1 Kings ix. 16, 17) and not Baalath. And moreover, Scripture does not assert that *this Baalath* was "in the valley of Lebanon," or *Bukaa*; but it would seem to be so inferred from the words "in Lebanon," in verse 6 of 2 Chron. viii.

It is worthy of remark, that the name of a city very nearly resembling *Bálbec* occurs in the Vatican Codex of the Septuagint, in Joshua xix. 8; it is there written *Βαλέκ*, *Balec*. But, as it is stated to have been a city of the inheritance of *Simeon*, and consequently in the extreme south-west of Canaan, it cannot be referred to *Baalbec* in Antilebanon. In Hebrew it is בעלת באר, *Bahalath Beer*;[9] or, as our version has rendered it, "Baalath-beer," meaning the *well*, באר, of *Baalath*.

cient city, *most* probably one of Solomon's *store-cities*; it, like Baalbec, was a chief sanctuary of the worship of *Baal*, or the Sun-God. About 710 B.C., in the time of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, it was asked, "Where are the *gods* of *Hamath?*" (2 Kings xviii. 34.)

[8] Ben. of Tudela's Itinerary, by Asher, vol. i. p. 86: Berlin, 1840.

[9] The Versio Latina, Paraph. Chald., writes here *Baghalath* only, and places the *Beer* at the beginning of the other word, *Beer*-Ramath;

It is singular, that for the word *Bene-berak*, בני ברק, in Joshua xix. 45, meaning 'children of Berak,' which the Latin Vulgate writes "*Bane et Barach*," and the Vatican Codex, *Βαναιβαρὰκ*, but the Alexandrine, *Βαν-βαράκ*, the *Syriac* text and its Latin version should have translated "Baaldebech," which is so similar to *Baalbeck*. The translator perhaps had *Baalbec* in his mind, though it cannot correspond with it, as Beneberak was a possession of the children of Dan.

Some might also conjecture that *Baalah*, *Βααλά*, or *Βαλά*, mentioned in Joshua xv. 29, or, as it is called in the Hebrew text, בעלה, might be intended for Baalbec; but, since this was a city belonging to the tribe of Judah, it was situated much too far in the south of the land of Canaan. It should be observed that this word *Baalah* is easily mistaken for *Baalath*, owing to the resemblance between the final letters ה, *h*, and ת, *th*.

Others consider Baalbec to be the *Baal-Hamon*[10] (*Βεελαμών*) of the 'Song of Solomon' (viii. 11), from the supposed similarity of that appellation to that of *Jupiter-Hammon*, the great deity of Baalbec.

It does not, however, appear from the context, where Solomon's "vineyard at *Baal-Hamon*," in Hebrew בעל חמון, was situated; though it is likely that it was adjoining to "the house of the forest of Lebanon" (1 Kings vii. 2), doubtless so called from its having been constructed by Solomon with the timber of the

but the Vulgate Latin makes *one* word of the three, Baalath-Beer-Ramath. The Arabic Latin version reads *Baal-bab*, *i.e.* Baal's Gate, in the same verse.

[10] See note 25, p. 15, for Iken's erroneous opinion as to the identity of *Baal-Hamon* and Baalgad.

cedars hewn in the forest of Lebanon,[11] it was in all probability in the vicinity of his capital, *Jerusalem;* and so thought the learned Bishop Patrick, for he observes *Baal-Hamon* was "a place near Jerusalem."

Another *Βελαμών* (*Vat.*) or *Βαλαμών* (*Alex.*) nevertheless is named in Judith viii. 3, which is represented in our version by "Balamo," and not by *Bál-hamon:* it is thought to have been not very far north of Samaria, and it may possibly indicate the site of "Solomon's vineyard."

Again, some other authors have identified Baalbec with *Baal-hermon* (1 Chron. v. 23), which is written in Hebrew בעל חרמון, but, on referring to Judges iii. 3, this locality is described as הר, *hor*, a "mount,"[12] not a mere city, in "Mount Lebanon." Although in 1 Chron. v. 23, "Baal-hermon and Senir, and Mount Hermon" (חרמון), are mentioned separately as *three* distinct localities, still in Deuteronomy iii. 9, it is clearly explained that "Mount Hermon" was called by the Amorites "Shenir," or Senir.[13] Thus indeed

[11] *Vide* 1 Kings v. 6–10, for the agreement between Solomon and Hiram, king of Tyre, relative to the hewing of cedar-trees in Lebanon; and also Josephus, Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2, for the epistles on this subject. Calmet observes, that the cedar-wood of Lebanon used in Solomon's Temple was so abundant that the temple itself is called "Lebanon," in Zechariah, chap. xi. verse 1.

[12] This mountain, in that verse of the Vatican Septuagint, is called *τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀερμών*, but in the Alexandrine Codex (vide *Grabe*, vol. i.) *τὸ ὄρος τὸ Βαλαερμών*. This last adds in the margin, *Βαλαερμών*. The Hebrew (in Judges iii. 3) is הר בעל הרמון, *hor Baal-Hermon*, "Mount Baal-Hermon."

[13] In Deut. iii. 9, Mount Hermon is particularly described as that Hermon which the Sidonians call *Sirion*, and the Amorites *Shenir;* in Hebrew, these names are שריון and שניר. The Vatican Greek text gives them as *Σανιών* and *Σανίρ*, whilst the Complutensian Codex

it would seem that at that time, B.C. 1451, only *Baal-hermon* and Mount *Hermon* were held to be really *distinct;* but *Baal-hermon* was a "mount;" hence, then, Baal-hermon and Hermon are *not* strictly considered in Scripture as the *same* peaks or *mounts.*

I must, however, remark, that from our English translation of verse 23, ch. v. of 1 Chronicles, it does not appear that these *two Hermons* were *in the Lebanon* district; but the Vatican and Alexandrine versions both insert the words *καὶ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ.* I here add a literal translation of this entire verse, according to the Alexandrine text: 'And the halves of the tribe of Manasseh dwelt in the land from Bashan unto *Baal-hermon,* and Seneir, and *Mount Hermon;* and they increased *in Lebanon.*' Moreover the text of the Vatican Septuagint omits *ἐν γῇ,* "in the land." This description, then, better accords with that in verse 3,

writes the *first,* Σαριών, and the Alexandrine the *second,* Σανείρ. Also in Psalm xxix. 6, the former is termed *Sirion,* שִׂרְיֹן. The LXX. have translated "the Phœnicians" οἱ Φοίνικες, instead of "the Sidonians," which is more correct, as the Hebrew is צִידֹנִים, Tsidonim or Zidonim.

But Hermon is also coevally (B.C. 1451) named in our version, Deut. iv. 48, "Mount *Sion;*" which in Hebrew is שִׂיאֹן, and according to the Septuagint, Σηών. Since the true *Sion,* at Jerusalem, is written in Hebrew, צִיּוֹן, *Zion* or *Sijon,* in Greek, Σιών (*vide* Psalm ii. 6; lxxiv. 2; lxxvi. 2), our English word "Sion" in Deut. iv. 48, is clearly erroneous, and, as Bishop Patrick has well suggested, must be intended for *Sirion; i.e.* שִׂיאֹן for שִׂרְיֹן. The meanings of these names are said to be as follows: Hermon is a 'high peak;' Sirion and Shenir, a 'breast-plate,' or 'armour,' of snow and ice; Sion, or Zion, 'uplifted,' or 'exalted;' and Lebanon, 'white,' from *Leban,* which signifies in Arabic 'curd,' or 'curdled milk;' and in Hebrew, from לֵבֶן, white.

chap. iii. Judges, which mentions the locality as being *τὸν Λίβανον*, and in Hebrew, *Hor ha Lebanon*, הר הלבנון, "Mountain, the Lebanon."

If Mount Hermon be received as the *highest* peak, and as thus giving its name to the entire circuit of the southern and loftiest range of Antilibanus—a name which very seldom occurs in our Bible,[14]—and Mount *Baal-hermon* be taken as a particular but *lower* summit or peak of that same mass, all difficulty, will, I think, cease. And that such was in fact the case will appear to be strongly conclusive from verse 3[15] of chap. iii. of Judges in the Alexandrine and Vatican interpretations of the LXX. The first of these reads *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Βααλερμὼν ἕως Λοβωημάθ*, which indeed our translation follows, whilst the second, or the Vatican Codex, has *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ἀερμὼν ἕως Λαβωεμάθ*: consequently it would appear, that Mount Baal-hermon and Mount Hermon, although not identical, were at least close together; or the one a mere peak of the other. And this view is further confirmed by the following recent account.

My kind correspondent, the Rev. J. L. Porter, describes[16] the loftiest peak of "the graceful cone-shaped

[14] In Judith i. 7, both "*Libanus*" and "*Antilibanus*" are given; so also in the LXX. translation; but in the Latin Vulgate, only "Libanus." The name of *Antilibanus* first occurs in the Septuagint, in Deut. i. 7; and see note 24, *infra*, p. 14. Both the *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* mountains are expressly mentioned in the Phœnician history of Sanchoniathon; *vide* p. 24, edit. Cumberland (1720). This very ancient author is supposed to have written in the eleventh or twelfth century before Christ; some think even earlier.

[15] The Hebrew text in this verse reads "from Mount *Baal-hermon* to" etc. (See *ante*, note 12, p. 8.)

[16] 'Five Years in Damascus,' vol. i. p. 292 *et seq.*

Hermon," to be "on the northern side;" and another, or the central one, a little to the south of it, as somewhat differing in altitude. "On the second of these summits" he discovered, on August 31, 1852, some very curious and extensive remains, not only the foundations of a *ring*, or a circular wall of stone about 180 feet in diameter, with an excavation 8 feet in depth in its centre, but also within that enclosure, the substructions of a small temple. This summit he considers "as one of the most ancient sanctuaries in the Holy Land;" and adds, "In two passages of Scripture, the name *Baal-hermon* is applied to this mountain.[17] The only reason which can be assigned for this is, that *Baal* was there worshipped, and that a sanctuary of his was there erected. Hieronymus, in the 'Onomasticon,' makes the following statement, which leaves the matter without a shadow of doubt: 'Diciturque esse *in vertice* ejus (sc. Aermon) *insigne templum*, quod ab Ethnicis cultui habetur e regione Paneadis et Libani.'[18] It can scarcely be called in question that the temple here referred to is that whose ruins we have described. Its situation, on the summit, *in vertice*,[19] is sufficiently explicit."

It is, therefore, very evident that *Baal-hermon* cannot have been the original name of Baalbec, as given in the Hebrew Bible.

Many travellers have maintained with great cer-

[17] "Judg. iii. 3, and 1 Chron. v. 23."

[18] "Onomasticon Urbium et Loc. Sac. Scrip., ed. Bonfr. p. 10."

[19] Ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς, or the ὑψηλὰ τοῦ Βάαλ, "the high places of Baal;" and the altars and temples on mountains and tops of hills were peculiarly fitted for burnt offerings and incense unto that god, "to the *sun* and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven." (See 2 Kings xxiii. 5, and Jeremiah xix. 5.)—[*J. H.*]

tainty that *Baalgad*, בעלגד, described in the Book of Joshua (about B.C. 1450), answers both in its etymology and geographical position to Baalbec.[20] In examining the *first* of these arguments, or that which arises from a mere similarity of names, I will show there exists much coincidence; while, on the contrary, I will prove that the *second*, relative to the locality itself, cannot accord with the geographical details of *Baalgad* as specially assigned to it in Holy Writ.

*First*, the Hebrew, בעל, *Baal*, in its primary signification means *master* or *lord;* hence also the *deity* or *god*, הבעל, *ha Baal*, is translated *ὁ Βάαλ* in the Septuagint (Judges ii. 13; 1 Kings xvi. 31, 32, etc.), and this Baal, being the principal deity of the Phœnicians and Syrians, was considered as the *Sun* or *Jupiter;* in fact, Sanchoniathon[21] observes in a fragment of his history, supposed to have been written in the eleventh or twelfth century B.C. (if not before), that the former people held the *Sun* to be the *sole Lord of Heaven* (*μόνος Οὐρανοῦ κύριος*), calling him 'Beelsamen,' which is Jupiter, or "Zeus of the Greeks." Now the derivation of *Belsamen*, or *Balsamen*, is clearly בעל שמין, *Bal Shamen*, *οὐρανῶν θεός*, *Cœlorum Deus*, God of the Heavens, or Lord of the Heavens; and the identical

[20] See *post* (note 25, p. 15) where the learned Iken considers Baalgad to be the *same* as Baalbec.

[21] Vide Sanchuniathonis Hist. Phœniciæ, lib. ix. ex edit. *Wagenfeld* (Bremæ, 1837), where he (Σαγχουνιάθων) says at page 12, *τὸν Ἥλιον, τοῦτον γὰρ θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον Οὐρανοῦ Κύριον Βεελσάμην καλοῦντες, ὅ ἐστι παρὰ Φοίνιξι Κύριος Οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ἕλλησιν*, and which Dr. Cumberland has thus rendered:—"The *Sun;* for him they thought the only Lord of Heaven, calling him *Beelsamen*, which in Phœnician is 'Lord of Heaven,' in Greek it is Ζεύς" (p. 24).

word is found in the Phœnician or rather *Punic* lines in the 'Pœnulus,' of Plautus (Act v. scen. 2, ver. 67).

Also, *gad*, גד, signifies a deity, for the Septuagint has translated that word in Isaiah lxv. 11, as δαιμόνιον, therefore *Baalgad*, בעלגד, or Βαλαγάδ, so interpreted would be the *Baal deity*, or *god Baal*, and which would further signify the *Sun deity*, or *god Jupiter*, since Baal was considered not only the same as *Jupiter*, but also as the *Sun*, Helius; indeed Bryan Walton, in 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta,' has given "*Jovi*" for גד, *gad*, in the verse referred to.

Another interpretation of *Gad* is preferred by others, who, deriving it from *the verb* גדד, *to press*, have rendered it a *crowd*, or *troop*; and it is so translated in that verse of Isaiah in our English Bible. Wherefore Baalgad would thus mean Baal-crowd, or Baal-city, or the *Sun-city*, which in Aramaic or Syriac, is *Baal-bec*,[22] and in Greek *Heliopolis*.

*Secondly*, as to the geographical position of Baal-gad.

In chap. xi. verse 17, of the Book of Joshua, the entire land of Israel, or the country *conquered* and taken by Joshua, is described as extending from the land of Edom on the south, "even unto *Baalgad* in the valley of Lebanon *under Mount Hermon*" on the north.

But it might be said that *Hermon*, from that description, was a mount in Lebanon proper, that is,

[22] *Baal-bec*, or *Baal-bek*, means the "city of Baal" or the "Sun." "*Beki*, or *Baki*, is still used for 'a city' in the Coptic or Modern *Egyptian*:" Rawlinson's Herod. vol. iv. p. 245, note 13. May not this Egyptian terminal word have been introduced in the tenth or eleventh century, by the Egyptian Caliphs, who governed Baalbec?

on the *north-west* of Palestine, and consequently it could not be identical with that noble mountain at this day named *Gebel e' Sheikh*,[23] or the "Mount of the Chief," which, more strictly speaking, is situate at the southern boundary of the *Antilibanus*, now known as the range called Gebel e' Sharky, or the 'Eastern Mountain.' This, however, in the first verse of the following chapter (xii. 1) of Joshua, is clearly explained. For Joshua having taken the cities of the *Anakim* in the south-west of Palestine, or on the west of Jordan and the Dead Sea, then describes the "land on the other side of Jordan *toward the rising of the sun*, from the river Arnon *unto Mount Hermon*, and all the plain on the east." These words prove that *Mount Hermon* was *on the east* of the Jordan, or rather of the *sources of the Upper Jordan*, and consequently placed at the *north-east* limit of the "whole land taken by Joshua." The appellation of *Antilibanus*,[24] occurring,

[23] In 1850 I stated that in writing those Arabic names in English which have the article *el* before any word beginning with a solar letter, as *Esh Sheikh*, *Et Teim*, etc., I abbreviated them thus:—*E' Sheikh*, *E' Teim*, etc.; but in pronouncing them, a *double* force must be given to the *solar* letters. See notes, p. 194, Edin. New Phil. Journal,' vol. xlviii. 1850, and p. 347, vol. v. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.

[24] Moses, being on the *east* of the Jordan, in the land of Moab (Deut. xxxiv. 1), prays the Lord, to let him go over (the Jordan) and see the good land that is *beyond* Jordan, that goodly mountain (the *Lebanon*); and the *Antilebanon*. Such is the meaning of the Septuagint interpretation of verse 25, Deut. iii.; our Bible merely adds, that "goodly mountain, *and* Lebanon," which, if correct, should be that "goodly mountain, *even* Lebanon," which was *beyond*, or to the west of Jordan; whilst Mount Hermon and Antilebanon were on *this side*, or the east of Jordan. The original Hebrew in Deut. iii. 25, is הלבנן, which the LXX. have translated, *καὶ τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον*, but the Latin Vulgate reads "et Libanum." The *Ἀντιλίβανος* also occurs

I believe, only once in our Bible (Judith i. 7), shows that that eastern range (Gebel e' Sharky) was considered as a portion of *Lebanon* itself; so, indeed, there can be no error in the identification of Mount Hermon with the modern *Gebel e' Sheikh.*

Again, in the 13th chapter of Joshua, the borders of the land then *unconquered,* or unpossessed by Joshua, are set forth, and among which is the portion described in verse 5 as "all Lebanon toward the sunrising from *Baalgad* under *Mount Hermon,* unto the entering into Hamath;" that is to say, all the district of Lebanon, and Antilebanon on the east, from *Baalgad* under Mount Hermon as far as the entrance into Hamath on the *north.*

It appears, however, that the same region in chap. iii. of Judges, verse 3, is thus detailed, namely, "in Mount Lebanon, from Mount *Baal-hermon* unto the entering in of Hamath." Hence, *Baal-gad* and *Baal-hermon* are stated to have been, according to the interpretation of some, *identical:* this, indeed, could not be so, because the former, being nowhere termed *Mount* Baalgad, was evidently a *city;*[25] Baal-hermon, on the contrary, is generally called a *mountain;* yet

in the LXX. in Deut. i. 7; xi. 24; Joshua i. 4; ix. 1; and in Judith i. 7.

[25] Iken wrote a learned dissertation on *Baalgad,* and Baal Hamon which is published in vol. i. p. 236, etc. of Dissert. Philolog.-Theol., *Lugd. Bat.* 1749. I have not had an opportunity of reading it with attention, but he seems to consider Baalgad and Baal Hamon as *identical* with the modern Baalbec. He says "antiquissimam *urbem* Baalgad, *eandem* cum hodiernâ *Balbek* esse . . . Baal Hamon quoque, cujus semel tantum (Cant. viii. 11) fit mentio, ab eâdem minime esse diversam" (s. ix. p. 245). With this view, however, I can by no means agree.

these two passages are easily reconcileable if we consider them to be (as they really must have been) adjacent to, or at least not far distant from, one another; that is, the *city of Baalgad* was placed in a valley of Lebanon *under Mount Baal-hermon* in the *Mount Hermon* range.

In fact, the last, we know, was a mountain of much extent, at least comprising a mountain district; for in Joshua xii. 5, Og, the king of Bashan, is mentioned as "reigning *in Mount Hermon*," and which Tremellius and Junius[26] have thus rendered into Latin, "Conterminus Hog Rex Baschanis . . . dominabaturque *in Monte* Chermonis."[27] Also, "*all* Mount Hermon" is spoken of in Joshua xiii. 11, and with this corresponds very exactly at the present day that glorious and imposing mass of mountain-elevation of about 10,000 feet in altitude, with its three snow-capped peaks, the base of which includes an area of great extent, some 45 or 55 miles in circumference, known by the Arabic name of *Gebel e' Sheikh*.[28]

Further, if we more correctly examine these two parallel passages, it will be seen that in the first (Joshua xiii. 5) "Mount *Hermon*" occurs, but in the second (Judges iii. 3) "Mount *Baal Hermon*" is given; consequently, this appears to confirm the view which I have taken, that *Baal Hermon* was a portion

[26] *Vide* 'Biblia Sacra,' p. 170, edit. *Amst.* 1669. And the French Bible also, in that passage and in Deut. iii., writes, "Hog, le Roi de Basan."

[27] Joshua xii. 5. The *Vulgate* here translates "Terminus Og regis Basan, . . . et dominatus est *in monte* Hermon."

[28] The traveller Russegger gives the greatest height of Gebel E'Sheikh as 9,500 *Paris* feet, or about 10,000 English feet.

or a *peak*[29] of the larger mountain-mass, or range of *Hermon*. And this is further corroborated by the difference existing between the Alexandrine and Vatican texts, as I have already pointed out, because in the last-cited passage the former specifies the limits of the country as extending "from the *mountain Baal-hermon* unto Lobohemath," whilst the Vatican states them to be "from the *mountain Hermon* unto Labohemath."

Since then, *Baalgad* is expressly declared in Joshua xi. 17, and xiii. 5, to have been situated *under* Mount Hermon, the position of Baalbec is much too distant in the north to be accounted, in any possible terms, as lying *under* that mountain (*Gebel e' Sheikh*), or *under* the distinct peak, Baal-hermon.

Also, in the last-cited verse of Joshua, the precise expression, "*all* Lebanon," most clearly defines that the *entire* region of Lebanon and Antilebanon[30] is signified, and not the *remainder* or *rest* of Lebanon, being indeed less than one-half of "all Lebanon,"

[29] *Vide ante*, p. 10.

[30] The whole mountain-region of Lebanon is erroneously translated "Mount *Hor*," in the 7th and 8th verses of Numbers, chap. xxxiv., as the north border of the land of Canaan. This name naturally misleads the reader, and makes him suppose it to be Mount *Hor* in the territory of Edom. *Hor*, הר, signifies a *mountain*. The original is הר ההר, i. e. *Hor ha-Hor*, "mountain the mountain," or "mount-tain of the mountain," meaning "the double mountain," or the "two mountains;" this term includes the two parallel chains, the *Lebanon* and the *Antilebanon*. Both the Vatican and Alexandrine texts properly render *hor ha hor* by τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄρος, in verse 8. The Latin Vulgate translates them "mons altissimus;" the Latin version of the Samaritan text, "mons *Hor*;" and Tremellius and Junius give them "*Hor* mons." In the former, *Hor* is undeclined, but by the latter it is declined.

which it would have so limited, if Baalgad had stood on the present site of Baalbec. And in that case, Joshua's description would doubtless have been, "the *rest* of Lebanon, towards the sun-rising, from Baalgad unto the entering into Hamath." The last-named pass or district, being some thirty-five miles further to the north-east, shall be afterwards briefly considered.

I must, however, enlarge a part of the preceding reasoning in more comprehensive terms, because Dr. Robinson, in his new work on Palestine,[31] writes, in a "parallel passage (Joshua xiii. 5, comp. Judges iii. 3), we find Baal-hermon instead of Baal-gad. It would seem, therefore, that Baal-gad and Baal-hermon were different names of the *same* place; that this place was in a valley under Hermon; and that it here served to mark the northernmost limit of Palestine, to which the conquests of Joshua extended; just as, at a later period, after the city of Dan had been built, that place is always put as the northern limit. The name Baal-gad (god of fortune) implies a place of heathen worship;[32] which apparently took also the name of Baal-hermon from its connection with that mountain.

"All these considerations go to make it probable, that *Baal-gad* was no other than the romantic spot, the secluded grotto at the fountain of Jordan, where the Phœnicians or Syrians had established the worship of one of their *Baals*.[33] In process of time this was supplanted by the service of the Grecian *Pan*,

[31] 'Later Biblical Researches in Palestine,' p. 409.

[32] "*Baal-gad*, 'god of fortune,' is referred by Gesenius to *Jupiter*, Thesaur. p. 264."

[33] "So *Gesenius*, Thesaur. p. 225. *Raumer*, Palæst. edit. 3. p. 215. n."

and thus the name *Panium* was introduced, and the earlier one forgotten. The name *Banias* is merely the Arabic pronunciation of the ancient name *Paneas*."

The *first* passage here referred to has been already mentioned as that which our English Bible thus renders: "All Lebanon, toward the sun-rising, *from Baal-gad* under Mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath." The same is translated in the Vatican Septuagint with the exception of the two words 'from Galgal' (*ἀπὸ Γαλγάλ*)[34] being substituted for 'from Baal-gad;' but the Alexandrine version agrees with our English translation in reading *ἀπὸ Βααλγάδ*.

And the *second* passage (as contained in Judges iii. 3), from our English rendering, which agrees with the Hebrew, is this: "Mount Lebanon, from *Mount Baal-hermon* unto the entering in of Hamath." The difference in the Septuagint texts has been already pointed out,[35] in showing that the one reads "Mount Hermon," and the other "Mount *Baal-hermon*." Consequently, according to Dr. Robinson's view, Baal-gad, Galgal, Hermon, and Baal-hermon are "different names of the *same* place:" but their identity cannot be supported, because to Hermon as well as to Baal-hermon the term *mountain*, *τὸ ὄρος*, is expressly given, and Baal-gad and Galgal (if distinct places) not being so designated were evidently *cities*, and probably contiguous to each other. Indeed, I have before shown that most likely Baal-hermon was only a *separate peak* of the Mount

[34] The word *Galgal*, which occurs in the Vatican edition of the LXX., is possibly a mere error of the copyists in writing Γ and Λ for Β and Δ; thus ΓΑΛΓΑΛ for ΒΑΛΓΑΔ. The only known *Gilgals* or *Galgals*, *Γάλγαλα*, were situated in central and south Palestine.

[35] See *ante*, p. 10, and note 12, p. 8.

Hermon range. Scripture (as I have previously observed) sometimes mentions "all Mount Hermon,"[36] therein of course including the peak of Baal-hermon, and the entire chain or mass of the noble Mount Hermon. For, although it is stated in Deut. iii. 9, that Hermon was called in B.C. 1451, by the Amorites *Shenir*,[37] still in after-times (about B.C. 1300 and 1014) *Senir*, or *Shenir*, seems to have been considered as a *distinct* peak or summit (see 1 Chron. v. 23, and Song of Sol. iv. 8). So then *Shenir*, *Baal-hermon*, and *Hermon* may have been subsequently the names of the *three* separate *peaks* described by Mr. Porter in his work on 'Damascus' (vol. i. p. 292), *and this* seems most probable, because the "*mountains* of Hermon" (ὄρεσιν Ἀερμών) are mentioned in Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 13, at a much later period, viz. about B.C. 200.[38]

There is, however, another and a still more decisive answer to Dr. Robinson's supposition—that *Baal-gad* "was no other than the secluded grotto," *Panium*, near *Paneas*, where was an altar or shrine *θεοῦ Πανός*, originally supposed to have been dedicated to *Baal*, most likely from following these words of St. Jerome, "quod ab Ethnicis cultui habetur è regione *Paneadis*"[39] —which is this: the situation of that grotto was far too distant to the *south* of Mount Hermon, to be, by any construction, included in a *valley* or plain of *Lebanon*

[36] *Vide* Joshua xiii. 11.

[37] Consult the previous note 13 at p. 8.

[38] Abulfeda states ('Tabula Syriæ,' p. 164), that the Arabs in mediæval times termed the northern part of Antilibanus *Sunir*, which is evidently a corruption of Senir, or Σανίρ. And this name seems to be retained at this day in a more corrupted form, *Sunnin* or *Sannin*, for the highest peak of the opposite range of Lebanon.

[39] *Hieron.* Onomast. Urb. p. 10.

—ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ Λιβάνου—in which Scripture, as[40] I have already shown, expressly says *Baal-gad* was placed.

But the same American author[41] has with much more probability conceived, "that the prophet *Amos* (chap. i. v. 5) alludes to Heliopolis (*Baalbec*) and its idol-worship, where he speaks of the "plain of *Aven*" (or *Bikath Aven* in the margin). The Seventy appear to have so understood the passage, since they here give the Hebrew *Aven* by *On*, the domestic name of the Egyptian Heliopolis.[42] The allusion would then be to the great plain of the Bukaa, or *Cœlesyria*, of which Heliopolis was always the chief city;[43] and this accords well with the context."

It is, however, only just to remark that this "allusion" had been long *before* made by one of our English divines, Dr. William Lowth, as well as by the traveller Maundrell. The former says, "Mr. Maundrell, in his Travels, observes that not far from Damascus there is a plain, still called the 'Valley of *Bocat*,' which he supposes the same with '*Bikath* Aven,'

[40] Joshua xii. 7. The Alexandrine Codex here has Βααλγὰδ, and the ordinary Vatican Codex Βαλαγὰδ; whereas Mai's new edition of the last reads Βαλαγαδδᾶ, ἐν πεδίῳ Λιβάνῳ—'*Balagadda* in Lebanon plain,'—which is less agreeable to the original.

[41] Robinson's Later Bibl. Res. in Palest., p. 519.

[42] "Sept. πεδίον Ὤν, Vulg. *campus idoli*. The Heb. אֵן or אָן, for Heliopolis in Egypt, occurs in Gen. xli. 45, 50, xlvi. 20, and Ezek. xxx. 17. In all these examples the Seventy and Vulgate give it by *Heliopolis*, Ἡλιούπολις. The former nowhere have Ὤν, except in Amos i. 5." [I find that Tremellius and Junius render these words in Latin, "convallis *Avenis*." See 'Biblia Sacra,' p. 596, edit. Amst. 1669.—*J. H.*]

[43] "The Hebrew בִּקְעַת and Arabic *Bukaa* are strictly one and the same word, signifying 'a cleft or plain between mountains.'"

here mentioned ";[44] indeed, I find that the learned Iken writes that Zorn considered "urbem *Balbek* apud Amosum i. 5, per *Bikath Aven* intelligi."[45] According to *Ritter*,[46] On, or Ὦν, is explained to be an Egyptian or Coptic name, meaning the *light*, or *sun*, and is exactly translated "Heliopolis" by the Septuagint. So then *Bikath Aven*,[47] or *Aun*, or *On*, would signify *Bukaa On*, the 'plain of *On*,' or the plain or valley of Heliopolis.

In finishing this *first* part of my memoir, I have only to remind my readers that I have arrived at the conclusion, and I trust have also proved, that the ancient Biblical names of *Baalbec*, or its Greek equivalent *Heliopolis*, are *two*, namely, the *earlier* and original one the *Baalath* recorded in 1 Kings (ix. 18) and 2 Chron. (viii. 6); and the second or *later* name—*On*, or *Aven*, אָוֶן (which is the word assigned in Genesis xli. 50, to the Egyptian Heliopolis), mentioned by the prophet Amos (i. 5) in B.C. 787; and that the plain of Baalbec or Heliopolis, in Cœlesyria, is designated by this last author as *Bikath Aven*, בִּקְעַת אָוֶן, or *Bikath On*,[48] or simply as the *Bikah* or *Bukaa*, which

[44] D'Oyly and Mant's 'Holy Bible,' vol. i. part 2, note 5. Amos i. 5.

[45] Iken's 'Dissert. de Baal-Hamon et Baal-gad,' s. xvii. p. 257.

[46] Erdkunde, vol. i. p. 822.

[47] The French or Paris edition, 1805, of 'La Sainte Bible,' translates these words "*Bikhat* Aven," but the edition of 1743, by D. Martin, has "*Bikhath*-aven."

[48] Some traveller in Syria has reported a "plain of *Un*," somewhere in the district of Damascus, on the side of the Great Desert, from the mere affirmative answer of his Arab guide when asked about such a spot; but, from later and more exact inquiry, no such place has been discovered. Indeed the word *Bikah* does not signify an

is identical with what Maundrell terms the "*Bocat*," and what the Crusaders call (A.D. 1176) "the valley *Bacar*."[49]

I will now make a few observations on the two following and important questions in the early topography of this district: *first*, the position of Baal-gad; and *secondly*, the entrance into Hamath.

The *first* of these, or the supposed site of Baal-gad, has been in some degree determined from the texts of Scripture already cited. It was known to be situate in a valley of Lebanon *under* Mount *Hermon* or *under* Mount *Baal-hermon*. Considering the last of these mounts to have been the *second* or central summit of the magnificent mountain-range of the Great Hermon, now called *Gebel e' Sheikh*, we must look for some *valley* nearly *under* that second summit, and to the west of it, "in Lebanon," wherein that city might have stood. For this purpose I will take Dr. Robinson's 'New Map of Palestine' (by Henry Kiepert, 1856), and examining the west side of *Gebel e' Sheikh*, the modern town of *Hasbeya* will be seen in the valley of Lebanon, now named *Wadi e' Teim*, and distant some seven or eight miles to the west of, and *below*, the spot marked *Kusr Antar*,[50] upon the summit of that second peak

*open* plain or desert, but a wide mountain-valley, or plain enclosed within lofty ranges.

[49] Robinson, 'Later Researches in Palestine,' p. 496.

[50] This is the name given, in Robinson's new map, to the ruins on the second peak of Gebel e' Sheikh; but the author himself, who did not ascend to them, calls them "Kulat Antar," at p. 432 of his 'Later Researches." Mr. Porter, however, in his work on Damascus, vol. i. p. 293, does not assign to them any appellation. There exists also a great difference between the position of this ruined temple in Dr. Robinson's and Mr. Porter's maps.

of Gebel e' Sheikh, which Mr. Porter identifies with Mount *Baal-hermon*, whose summit is situate in the parallel of about north latitude 33° 25′, *whilst* the latitude of the town itself is 33° 25′ 12″ nearly.

Dr. Robinson describes Hasbeya, "as almost hidden in a short valley, which commences at no great distance east of the town" (p. 380). And hereabouts might be fixed the ancient site of *Baal-gad:* at least, I apprehend that spot to have corresponded with the extreme limit, on the *north*, of Joshua's *conquered* country. It is, however, not unlikely that *Baal-gad* may have stood in a valley somewhat further to the south, perhaps in the larger valley now called *Wadi Shiba*, "which breaks down by an enormous gorge through the western ridge of Gebel e' Sheikh,"[51] and which opens out, in a south-westerly direction, into the upper *Wadi e' Teim*. Indeed the present village of *Hibbaryeh* may possibly indicate the site of the *sun-city* under the *sun-mount*, Baal-hermon, and, if so, its north latitude will be about 33° 24′ 47″. This American traveller says, "The only point of interest in this village, apart from its remarkable position, is the beautiful ruin of an ancient temple, now standing in a ploughed field. It fronts directly upon the great chasm looking up the mighty gorge, as if to catch the *first beams* of the morning *sun* rising over Hermon."[52] And in confirmation of this being nearly the probable site of *Baal-gad*, the name seems to have been corruptedly preserved in a neighbouring village, about five miles further to the north-west, on the other side of the Wadi e' Teim. The present name of that place is

[51] Robinson, p. 416.

[52] *Ibid.* p. 147.

*Belat*, which may be an Arabic corruption of *Belgat* or *Belgad*, for *Bâlgad*.

There can in fact be no doubt, that in this district, on the west of *Gebel e' Sheikh*, must have been situate the long-lost Baal-gad; if not in, or close to, one of the places I have mentioned. Neither am I without hope that the remains of that city may at a future day be brought to light, when careful researches and excavations may have been carried on in this beautiful portion of the splendid Hermon. Dr. Robinson, writing "of the many ancient temples" that are still visible in the valleys between the Lebanons, relates, "they are found in all situations, crowning hills and mountain-tops, or secluded in valleys and deep gorges. The founders and worshippers have disappeared for unknown ages; whether they were *Phœnicians* or *Græco-Syrians*, we cannot tell; they have left behind no trace but these their works, and no record to show how or why these works were erected."[53]

*Secondly*, as to "the entrance of *Hamath*." This was not only the name of a most ancient city, still known as *Hamah*, but also, as was a common custom in Palestine, that of a territory or kingdom, so called from the city itself, "the land of Hamath" (2 Kings xxiii. 33), *Hamathis* or *Amathis*, of which "the king" is occasionally mentioned in Scripture.[54]

[53] Robinson, p. 418.

[54] Amos (vi. 2) speaks of Hamath as "The Great:" the Vatican Septuagint renders it Ἐματαραββά, and the Alexandrine Ἀμαθραββά, in one word. The Hebrew is חמת רבה, *Chamath rabbah*, meaning 'Hamath the Capital.' Rabbah is derived from רב, *rab*, 'great,' or רבי, *rabbi*, 'a chief.' (See 2 Kings xix. 13; Isaiah x. 8, 9; 1 Maccab. xii. 25, etc.) *Hamath* or *Chamath*, in Hebrew חמת, is translated by the Septuagint Ἡμάθ, Ἐμάθ, and Ἀμάθ. It was named afterwards by the Greeks *Epiphania*.

The land *unconquered* by Joshua from the parallel in or about north latitude 33° 25′—the boundary already defined—comprised "all Lebanon, from Baal-hermon," or "from Baal-gad under Mount Hermon" unto a still more northern border; viz. "unto the entering in of Hamath,"[55] which succeeded to the northernmost limit of Lebanon, probably near the parallel of north latitude 34° 25′. Hereabouts, or about 3′ further north, according to Dr. Robinson's last map, is the modern town named *Ribleh*, situate on the Orontes, now *El Asy*, and which is evidently identical with the Scriptural "Riblah." In 2 Kings xxv. 21, "Riblah"[56] is stated to be "*in* the land of Hamath," and in Numbers xxxiv. 11, it is mentioned as "on the east side of *Ain*." The Rev. Mr. Porter, who has recently visited that region, says, "*Ain*, עין, is the Hebrew word for a *fountain*, and it may therefore be read, 'Riblah on the east side of the fountain;' and thus it is in the (Vatican) Septuagint, *Βηλά ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ πηγάς*. Now Riblah stands about ten miles nearly east of the great fountain of the Orontes; I am therefore inclined to think that the *Ain*, referred to in the above passage as being on the west of Riblah, is the fountain"[57] called *Ain el Asy*. I should however observe, that in this verse of the Alexandrine version, the proper name in Hebrew,

[55] In Judges iii. 3, "the entering in of Hamath" is given as a proper name, *Lobokemath* or *Loboamath*, in the Greek versions. The Alexandrine has *Λοβωημάθ*; but the Vatican Codex *Λαβωαμάθ*. The Hebrew is לבוא חמת, in two words, *lobo Chamath*.

[56] In this passage *Riblah* is translated *Ῥεβλαθά*, in the Vatican version, but in the Alexandrine it is *Δεβλαθά*. This confusion seems to have arisen from mistaking *d* for *r*, and *th* for *h* in the Hebrew.

[57] Porter's 'Five Years in Damascus,' vol. ii. p. 336.

רִבְלָה, which our Bible has translated "Riblah," is not *Βηλὰ*, but *'Αρβηλά*.[58] So then, the entrance into the land or kingdom of *Hamath*, as one journeys to the north from *Baal-gad* under Mount Hermon, would be through the valleys of Lebanon termed at this day Wadi e' Teim and El *Bukaa*, past Ain el Asy and Kamua el Harmul,[59] into the district near Riblah. And this would seem to be the route which "men" who "come to Hamath" (Numb. xiii. 21)—but which is better translated in the Septuagint, *εἰσπορευομένων Αἰμάθ*,[60] "as men proceed into Hamath," from the south —would naturally follow.

It is unnecessary for me in this place to notice

[58] By transposing the first two letters, this word would become nearer to *Riblah*; thus, *'Ραβηλά* (or *'Ρβηλά*); and it may have been so named from being most likely another seat of the worship of *Βήλ*, *Beel* or *Baal*. The last Greek word might be also written in English *Ribaalah*. Riblah was a very ancient city, as it is mentioned B.C. 1452.

[59] Dr. Robinson says ('Later Researches,' p. 540), "This is a singular and perhaps *inexplicable* structure." A woodcut of it is given in Porter's Damascus, vol. ii. p. 309. The Rev. Mr. Thompson asks, whether Nebuchadnezzar might not have erected it as a memorial of his conquests? (*Vide* Bibl. Sacr., *May*, 1847, p. 405.) Since this square edifice bears, on its four sides, bas-reliefs of boars, stags, and other animals, with weapons of the chase, if a sepulchral monument, it may have been erected to some personage killed in a famous chase. Or it may, more likely, have been raised by some Persian prince to record some hunting exploits performed in a favourite park, or *Paradise*. Such a preserve Xenophon (*Cyrop.* lib. viii. s. 7) explains thus, *τὰ ἐν τοῖς Παραδείσοις θηρία τρεφόμενα*. Indeed Strabo expressly mentions a *Paradisus*, as being near the fountains of the Orontes, and consequently also *near* the *Harmul* monument. (*Geogr.* lib. xvi. cap. 2.)

[60] But Mai incorrectly has given *'Εφάθ* in this passage of his edition: *φ* being clearly an error for *μ*.

"the entrance of Hamath" from the Mediterranean, or the "Great Sea," as this is well examined by Mr. Porter, in the account he has given of "the northern border of the land of Israel,"[61] and also by Dr. Robinson in his new researches in the same country.[62]

In the *Second Part* of my memoir, I proceed to consider the *principal inscriptions*, which have been discovered in Baalbec.

It is very surprising that among such magnificent and numerous buildings as are still extant in that ruined but spacious city, so few inscriptions have been detected, and of those which now remain only three or four are worthy of any comment.

Böckh, in his great work, 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum,' vol. iii. p. 240, has only published a single one, No. 4523; it is copied from Pococke, and is as follows:—

No. I.—ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΩΛΥΣ.ΤΑΧΟΥΚΑΙΛΥΟ
ΞΥΙΟΙΣΜ . . . ΣΧΑΡΩΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

which Böckh incorrectly interprets thus:—

. . . *θυγάτηρ Ζηνοδώρῳ Λυσ(ιμ)άχου καὶ Λυ . . .*
*υἱοῖς μ(νήμη)ς χάρ(ιν) ἀνέθηκεν.*

But Herr Krafft has more recently given the following better copy of the same[63] in his work, 'To-

[61] 'Five Years in Damascus,' vol. ii. p. 354 *et seq.*

[62] Later Bibl. Resear. in Palest., p. 568.

[63] M. de Saulcy (p. 560–1) makes a parade of "discovering this inscription" at Baalbec, in March, 1851; whereas the *same* had been previously published, No. 29, by Krafft in 1846, and whose work he admits to have consulted, since he has transcribed another inscription "from his publication" (p. 231). But M. de Saulcy is again in error, as he states that "this monument was erected to Zenodorus and Lysanias, *sons* of Lysanias the Tetrarch." The *first*

pographie Jerusalems,' which, he says, was found on the pediment of a temple at Baalbec,—"findet sich auf einem Fragment eines Tempelgiebels zu *Baalbeck*" (p. 268). The letters are, as Pococke noticed, square in form:

ΤΥΓΑΤΗΡΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΩΛΥΣ ΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥΚΑΙΛΥΣ
ΥΙΟΙΣΜ ΩΣΧΑΡΙΝ ΓΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

This I consider in small characters to mean—

. . . *θυγάτηρ Ζηνοδώρῳ Λυσ(ανίου τ)ετράρχου καὶ Λυσ(ανίᾳ)*
. . . *υἱοῖς μ(νῆσε)ως χάριν (τὸ ἱερὸν) ἀνέθηκεν.*

and in English,—

. . . (a) daughter, to Zenodorus (the son) of Lys(anias the t)etrarch and to Lys(anias)

. . . (her) sons, has dedicated (the temple), for the sake of a remembrance.

This inscription, as it will appear from this last and more accurate transcript, is of much interest, since it expressly states that this Zenodorus (the son of the *unknown* mother, daughter, and dedicatress) was the son of the Tetrarch Lysanias. This may have been the Lysanias, who was put to death by Antony, through the designs of Cleopatra, about the year 36 B.C.[64] And Dion Cassius mentions (lib. xlix. s. 32) him as the king (tetrarch) of the Ituræans. And the Zenodorus, his son here named, is probably the same of whom Josephus writes, *Ζηνόδωρος, ὁ τὸν Λυσανίου μεμισθωμένος οἶκον*,[65]—as having rented the house or *tetrarchy*

only was *his son*; but *both* were the sons of *his wife*, the dedicating "daughter." See De Saulcy's 'Narrative,' vol. ii. p. 561; 2nd edit. 1854.

[64] See Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xv. cap. 4. s. 1.

[65] Joseph. De Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 20. s. 4; and Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. cap. 10. s. 1–3.

of Lysanias, his father, and which Augustus took from him, on account of his oppressive robberies,[66] and bestowed it upon Herod. Zenodorus died at Antioch about B.C. 20. Also Dion Cassius relates that Augustus gave to Herod the *same* tetrarchy, *τῷ τε Ἡρῴδῃ Ζηνοδώρου τινὸς τετραρχίαν.*[67]

It seems probable that this tetrarch Lysanias was the son and successor of Ptolemy Mennæus; for, according to Josephus (Ant. Jud. xiv. 13. 3), he received his father's dominion: *τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μεννα(ου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ παῖς Λυσανίας παραλαβών.* This Ptolemy was tetrarch of the district of Chalcis, the *Chalcidene* of Pliny. The city of *Chalcis* was situate in Cœlesyria, at the roots of Antilibanus, about twenty-three miles south of Baalbec. Josephus records it as being *ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει*, over which Ptolemy (*δυναστεύων*) ruled; and Strabo calls it *ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Μαρσύου*

[66] Strabo, Geogr. lib. xvi. cap. 2, refers to the robbers under *Zenodorus*; and relates that they were put down by the Romans, and by the firmness of their soldiers.

[67] Dion Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. 54. s. 9, B.C. 20, when M. Apuleius and P. Silius were consuls. This was *Herod* "the Great." On his death (A.D. 1) after the birth of Christ (Matt. ii. 19), he devised his territories amongst his three sons. Augustus Cæsar confirmed the division thus; to the first son, Archelaus (Matt. ii. 22), was given a moiety of the whole; but to Philip and to Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 1, and Luke iii. 1), only half the other moiety to each, forming *two tetrarchies*. Philip (Luke iii. 1) had (with other districts) part of the "House of *Zenodorus*,"—*οἶκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου* (Antiq. Jud. xvii. 11. 4); but Josephus, in repeating the *same* account, in Bell. Jud. ii. 6. 3, states that Philip received part of the "House of *Zeno*,"—*τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἴκου*. Here, then, *Ζήνωνος* is clearly an error for *Ζηνοδώρου*. The two latter sons were *still tetrarchs* according to St. Luke (iii. 1) "in the 15*th year* of Tiberius," = A.D. 28, and *not* A.D. 26 as given in Mant's Bible.

—the "acropolis of the plain of Massyas," or Marsyas: this plain was a part of the rich plain of *El Bukaa*. Mr. Porter identifies the place with the ruins at Anjar; near it, on the hill at Mejdel, are the remains of a massive temple, which he thinks are considerably older than those at Baalbec. But Pliny describes the city and the territory thus, "*Chalcidem* cognominatam ad *Belum*, unde regio *Chalcidene* fertilissima Syriæ."[68] Here the designation, "ad *Belum*," may mean at a *hill* so named from a temple of *Bel*, Βήλ, or *Baal*, on its summit; or from the great eastern branch of the Leontes, which is supplied by two fountains now called Ain Anjar and Shemsin. In a country where Baal was so much worshipped, it is likely that a river or a hill may have been termed *Belus*, or Βήλος. Ptolemy Mennæus was also the Governor of Heliopolis, of the province of Ituræa, and of the mountains north of the latter. He died in the year 40 B.C.

That other *Lysanias*, the tetrarch[69] of *Abilene*, of

[68] *Joseph.* Antiq. Jud. xiv. 7. 4; *Strabo*, Geogr. xvi. cap. 2; *Porter's* 'Damascus,' vol. i. p. 12; and *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 23. s. 19.

[69] See 'Journal of Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xx. p. 43, for another Greek inscription in which *this tetrarch* is mentioned. It has been suggested, for ἀπελε, to read 'Αβιλη . . .; if correct, the translation would be,—"Nymphæus Æ . . . (the son) of *Lysanias*, the tetrarch of *Abile(ne)*," etc. And here I may also correct another error of Josephus, which occurs in Antiq. Jud. xiv. 3. 2. There it is written, that Pompey had destroyed the fortress of Apameia; "when he had gone through the cities of *Heliopolis* and Chalcis, and had passed over the mountain separating Syria, called the *Hollow* (cœle), from *Pella* he came to Damascus." As this was clearly the ordinary road leading from Chalcis over the Antilebanon through *Abila* to Damascus, I would therefore read the last line thus,—ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αβιλης εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν. ΠΕΛΛΗΣ must evidently be in-

whom St. Luke speaks (iii. 1), *may* possibly have been Zenodorus's half-brother, the *second Lysanias*, mentioned in this inscription, for the year recorded by St. Luke is "the *fifteenth* year of the reign of *Tiberius* Cæsar," which answers to A.D. 28; if so, this inscription could not have been erected until *after* that date.

The tetrarch of Abilene, however, must have been, without any doubt, a descendant of the *same* tetrarchal family.

Krafft relates that this inscription was from a fragment of the pediment of a *temple*, or rather, I think, of a *temple-like* tomb, which the mother doubtless erected to the memory of her two sons, one being the son of the tetrarch Lysanias, her first husband; this shows evidently that they were a family of great power and station in Heliopolis, both in the last half of the century *before*, and in the first half of the first century *after*, our Saviour's birth.

The next inscription, though in a mutilated condition, was copied by M. de Saulcy, in 1851, from an inverted tablet fixed into a wall at Baalbec:

No. II.—ЄΡΓΟΝΤΟΥЄΝΔЄ
. . . Τ . . ΝΑΤΟΛΙΟΙ
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΟΜΑΡΧΟΥ
ΚΑΙΥΠΑΤΟΥ

This traveller says, "I think I can make out from

tended for ΑΒΙΛΗΣ; ΠΕΛ being mistaken for ΑΒΙ. Although, according to Strabo (Geogr. xvi. 2), the city of *Apameia* (now Kalat el Mudik) on the Orontes "was *sometimes* called by the early Macedonians *Pella*,"—ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Πέλλα ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων Μακεδόνων,—still, as Josephus uses *Apameia* alone (not Pella) in that passage, and as there was *no Pella* known *near* Chalcis or the Antilebanon, there can be no doubt of the error.

the above that the eastern portion of one of the fortified works(?) was raised by a personage called *Nomarchus* (?), of consular family, but I cannot undertake to reconstruct the whole inscription."[70]

The following restoration I at first suggested, as being in *some* respects, though perhaps *not* in *all*, more correct:—

ЄΡΓΟΝΤΟΥЄ (ΚΑΤΟΝ
ΤΑΡΧΟΥΑ)ΝΑΤΟΛΙΟ(Υ)
ΣΤΡΑΤΟ(ΠΕΔ)ΑΡΧΟΥ
ΚΑΙΥΠΑΤ(Ι)ΟΥ

No. 2.—*Ἔργον τοῦ ἑ(κατον*
*τάρχου Α)νατολίο(υ)*
*στρατο(πεδ)άρχου*
*καὶ ὑπάτ(ι)ου*

"(The) work of the c(enturion A)natolius,
(the) prefect of the camp,
and (a man) of consular rank."

Being, however, in some slight doubt, whether or not an officer (*Anatolius*) of consular family,[71] who was only a *centurion*, could be also a *stratopedarch*, or "commander of the camp," I requested the Rev. C. Babington to consider this restoration, and he kindly replied as follows: "As to De Saulcy's inference from his supposed reading, it is quite untenable, and I doubt

[70] M. de Saulcy's 'Narrative of a Journey in the Bible Lands,' vol. ii. p. 570.

[71] Consuls were, after B.C. 363, allowed to be created from the *Plebeians:* see *Liv.* vi. 41; vii. 1. 21. But the 'primus *centurio*,' or '*centurio* primi pili,' Liv. vii. 41, was ranked in the equestrian order or *Equites:* see Taciti Hist. iii. 22; Juv. Sat. 16, 17; also the following inscription, "M . OPPIVS . . . CENTVR . LEG . VI . F . . . TRIB . LEG . II . PR*æfectus* CASTROR.," No. 6757. p. 352, Inscrip. Lat. Select. *Orellii*, vol. iii. edit. *Hensen*.

whether all his letters are rightly read. Neither can I think that a man, who is of so low a rank as to be a *centurion*, would be a 'prefect of the camp,' or 'of consular rank.' With regard to the first two lines you may be quite right; but the last two are, almost certainly, to be read thus:—

στρατ. Ὀνομάρχου
καὶ Ὑπατίου.

*i. e.* 'in the magistracy of Onomarchus and Hypatius.'" If Mr. Babington be correct in taking the chief portions of the last two lines as containing *proper* names, I would then conclude the reading to be as follows:—

No. 2.—Ἔργον τοῦ ἑ(κατον
τάρχου Ἀ)νατολίο(υ,)
στρατ. Ὀνομάρχου
καὶ Ὑπατ(ι)ου.

And in English—

"(The) work of the c(enturion A)natolius,
(the) Præt(ors being), Onomarchus
and Hypat(i)us."

Mr. Babington further observed that "*two* points are here worth remarking: *first*, the omission of ἐπί, which is commonly used *before* officers, when employed to mark a date. An example in Böckh, No. 4472, confirms the *absence* of ἐπί, thus, ὑπάτων Οὐλπίου Γράτου καὶ Οὐετιλίου Σελευκου. Also, a Roman colonial coin of Smyrna is similarly dated; it bears on the reverse, Στρα. Μ. Σελλίου, without the precedent ἐπί, meaning, 'M. Sellius being the *strategus*, or Prætor.'[72]

[72] See Leake's Num. Hell. Asiæ. p. 121.

And the *second* point is, that in this inscription there are *two* civic magistrates, Στρατηγοί, or *Prætors.*" This is well explained by Rasche, in these words, "στρατηγός in numis Græcarum urbium . . . de civili earum magistratu, seu *Prætoribus*, dictus. . . . Sicut vero haud unum ἄρχοντα, ita *haud unum* στρατηγόν, in urbibus id genus exstitisse liquet ex inscriptionibus apud Sponium, et ex numismatibus."[73] We likewise find in Acts xvi. (verses 20, 22, 35, 36, 38) στρατηγοί, in the plural, is used for the city "magistrates" of Philippi in Macedonia, then "a colony" (verse 12) of Rome.

M. de Saulcy writes of some "subterranean galleries," or arched vaults, under the massive platform of the great court or quadrangle in front of the two temples, and he gives the *Latin* inscriptions which he there found. He says, "The keystone of the door of the right-hand gallery has the following words, for which I can find *no intelligible* meaning" (vol. ii. p. 574) :—

No. III.—DIVISIO
CHONN
IAIVIVI

And "a little further on, another key-stone has," GIRSV (No. IV.).

Also "in the left gallery, on an archstone," are these words :—

No. V.—DIVISIO
MOSO

It seems to me not unlikely that these vaults and galleries, which are still occupied for storehouses for

[73] Rasche, 'Lexicon Rei Numariæ,' vol. v. p. 135.

corn and stables for horses, may have been partly used as barracks or quarters, and so occupied by detachments of the Roman cohorts or troops; and that these inscriptions relate to them: especially, since Krafft and De Saulcy found in another part, although beyond the quadrangle, the Latin words "Centuria Prima," inscribed in Greek letters, thus—

ΚΕΝΤΥΡΙΑ
ΠΡΙΜΑ

I therefore suggest the following meanings for these three inscriptions:—

No. 3.—DIVISIO
COHOR
ITALICÆ.[74]

Or, instead of the "*Italian* cohort," probably ITVRAIO —Ituræo(rum), *i.e.* "Cohort of the *Ituræans*"—may be more exact, as such a cohort was known from Orellius's Inscriptions, No. 5052 (p. 412. vol. ii.), where "COH . I . ITVRAIORVM" occur.

No. IV. GIRSV may be part of GERMA(norum), No. 4.

And No. V.—DIVISIO / MOSO may mean DIVISIO / MŒSICÆ—No. 5.

An "ala *Mœsica*" is spoken of by Tacitus (Hist. iii. 2) in A.D. 69, and it is mentioned in Orellius, Nos. 6702, 6948, vol. iii.: or possibly MOSO may be an error for MORO(rum), for MAVRO(rum); or MORI(norum), there having been cohorts bearing those names.

[74] So in Acts x. 1, σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, "of the *cohort* called the *Italian* (*cohort*)." This was A.D. 41. In De Saulcy's copy CHONN is given; it may be CHORT; for the word *Chors* is sometimes used for "Cohors."

Next, two long inscriptions in Latin, Nos. VI. and VII., have been known for more than a century, since they were copied by Wood in 1751, and published, six years later, in his beautiful work on Baalbec.

Herr Krafft again transcribed them in 1845; and, as his copies somewhat differ from Wood's, I here add them, having inserted my own restorations.

## No. VI.

MDIISHELI(O)VPOLPROSA(L)VT(E)
D ANTONINIPIIAVG ⁻EIVLIÆAVGMATRISDNCASTRSENATANTONIN(I)
CAPCOLVMNARVMDVMAERIAVROINFLATA(PECVNIA)SVAREGVMΔEVOTA

## No. VII.

MDIISHELI(O)VP(OLITANIS)
AVTORIISDANTONINIPIIFELAVG ⁻EIVLAVGMATRISDNCASSE(NATVS)
ANTONINICAPITACOLVMNARVMDVM(AERIA)VROIN(FLATAN)VMIN(I)BVS
(PECVN)IA SVAFCVR(AVIT).

These I now give in full in ordinary small letters :—

No. 6.—M(agnis) Diis Heli(o)upol(itanis) Pro sa(l)ut(e)
D(omini) ***Antonini Pii*** Aug(usti) et ***Juliæ*** Aug(ustæ) Matris D(omini) N(ostri) castr(orum) Senat(ûs) ***Antonin(i)***
Cap(ita) columnarum dum aëre auro inflata (pecuniâ) suâ regûm devota.

No. 7.—M(agnis) Diis Heli(o)up(olitanis)
Autor iis D(omini) ***Antonini Pii*** Fel(icis) Aug(usti) et ***Jul(iæ)*** Aug(ustæ) Matris D(omini) N(ostri) Cas(trorum) Se(natûs)
***Antonini*** capita columnarum dum (aëre a)uro in(flata n)umin(i)bus
(pecun)iâ suâ f(ieri) cur(avit).

And which I thus translate:—

No. 6.—"To the Great Gods of Heliopolis. For the safety

"Of the lord *Antoninus Pius* Augustus, and of *Julia Augusta*, the mother of our lord of the Castra (and) Senate. A devoted (subject) of the sovereigns (caused) the capitals of the columns of *Antoninus*, whilst (erected) in the air, (to be) embossed with gold at her own (expense)."

No. 7.—"To the Great Gods of Heliopolis.

"The author (of the work) for those deities of the lord *Antoninus Pius*, the Happy, Augustus, and of *Julia* Augusta, the mother of our lord of the Castra (and) Senate, caused the capitals of the columns of *Antoninus*, whilst (erected in the air) to be (embossed) with gold at her (or his) own (expense)."[75]

As far as I have ascertained, the Frenchman *Baltshasar Monconys* was the earliest traveller, who saw on December 23rd, 1647, the *first* of these two famous inscriptions, No. VI., upon the base of a column in the portico of what he calls 'the Castle,' at Baalbec.

The *first* line of it he has given thus:—

M.V.M.DIIS.HELIVPOL.PRO.SVL.

He states that, below it were *two* more lines, in ancient and *long* characters, which he could not read; "au-dessous il y en a *deux* autres, et caractères anciens *longs*, dont je ne pus lire."[76]

[75] Orellius (Inscript. Lat. Select., vol. i. p. 347) has given this inscription in No. 1951, although he has incorrectly divided it into *ten* lines; so De Saulcy (p. 571, vol. ii.) has printed it in *six* lines. Monconys expressly said that it was only in *three* lines; and Krafft has copied it in the *same* number. Indeed, considering that the pedestal of the column on which it was cut was much greater in *width* (nearly six feet) than in height, the lines must necessarily have been long and few—*three* or four at the most.

[76] *Monconys*, 'Journal des Voyages,' etc., pl. i. p. 351, edit. Lyon, 1665. He does *not* mention the *second* inscription, No. VII.

It must be observed, that his copy inserts at the beginning two letters, MV, which are omitted in Wood's transcript.

These letters may, perhaps, mean "MVnicipalibus,"[77] or "Magnis Victoriosis;" or, as it seems to me, since Monconys has clearly made a mistake in the last letter but one—in writing V for A—so he may erroneously have written the two initial letters; they may possibly have been NN, for "Nostris," or NV, for "Nostris Victoriosis."

These two letters have doubtless decayed and become invisible, between the years 1647 and 1751—the dates of the visits of these two travellers.

Both these inscriptions still remain in the same places in which they were seen by Wood, above a century ago; namely, on "the pedestals of the columns of the great portico," at a height of about twenty-seven feet from the ground. Krafft[78] says of them, "Von dem Tempel zu Baalbeck sind die beiden angeführten Inschriften von den Basen zweier Säulen der Fronte des Tempels copirt."

The exact positions of the pedestals are seen in Wood's plate No. IV., where they are marked G—being the *two extreme* pedestals of the twelve columns which formed the front of the portico of the Great Temple. The noble flight of steps leading up to them had been previously removed, as well as the whole of the superb columns; and indeed, this spoliation had taken place *before* the time of Monconys; because in his work a very rude plate exhibits the *twelve bases* of

[77] I would then read the first line:—
"Mu(nicipalibus) M(agnis) Diis Heli(o)upol(eos). Pro sal(ute)."

[78] Krafft, 'Topographie Jerusalems,' p. 268: Bonn, 1846.

the columns of the portico, *without* their shafts and capitals. Also the square wing, or lateral building, on each side, is apparent. All these, however, with the range of steps, are fairly represented on a coin of Otacilia, the wife of the Syrian emperor Philip. Wood's Plate V. gives a favourable engraving of the portico, in its supposed "perfect state."

Wood also observes (p. 12), that the "finishing of the *capitals* was generally done *after* the columns were *fixed*;" this will explain the words of the inscriptions, "dum aëre auro inflata." None of the travellers who have visited Baalbec have attempted to trace any *vestiges* of *gilding* upon the Corinthian *capitals* themselves of the columns still remaining in the Great Temple, although M. de Saulcy notices, that M. Mariette, in 1758, expressed "an opinion that the *capitals* of the porch (*portico*) *had been gilt*."[79] And De Saulcy has proposed to read the words in the last lines, "capita columnarum *duo?* ærea auro inluminata," and to translate them "*two?* capitals in gilt bronze," or rather, 'two? bronze capitals illumined with gold;' but, since none of the capitals still extant in or about the temples of marble or compact limestone are made of brass or bronze, this fact would evidently *negative* such a reading.

Whether *one* person alone is signified in the two inscriptions is doubtful; the *first* attributes the expense of the *gilding* of the columns to a *woman devoted* to the two sovereigns—the word 'devota' commencing with the Greek letter Δ—and she states, that she erected that inscription "for the safety," or health, of the sovereigns.

[79] De Saulcy's 'Narrative,' vol. ii. p. 572, *note*.

The *second* inscription calls the person 'autor' merely, and says that she, or he, did it "for those *Deities* of the sovereigns," or those chiefly worshipped by them.

One inscription may have been by the wife, and the other by the husband; although both "devota" and "autor" may possibly allude to the *same* munificent individual.

The capitals, which were "embossed with gold," are in both described as the "capitals of the columns of *Antoninus;*" and this description seems to be corroborated by the following extract from Joannes Malalas:—

"After the reign of Hadrian, *Ælius Antoninus Pius* reigned; . . . he erected in Heliopolis, in Phœnicia of the Lebanon, a great *temple* to *Jupiter*, and the same became one of the *sights* of the country."[80]

There can, however, be no doubt but the *Antoninus Pius* mentioned in both inscriptions is intended for the Emperor *Caracalla*, and the *Julia Augusta* for *Julia Domna*, his mother, who was born at Emesa,[81] now *Hems*, about fifty-eight miles north of Baalbec. Her father was the Phœnician *Bassianus*, a priest in the celebrated temple of *Baal*, or the sun, in that city.

This is correctly stated by Wood[82] (p. 11) in his noble work on Baalbec, although he does not attempt

[80] Joannes Malalas, 'Chronographia,' p. 119, edit. Venet. 1733. This emperor's names are written there, Ἥλιος (not Αἴλιος) Ἀντωνῖνος Πιὸς. He succeeded Hadrian, who died A.D. 138, at *Baiæ*, Βαΐαις —not Βάραις as printed in that edition.

[81] *Vide ante*, note (7) at p. 5.

[82] M. de Saulcy must have been aware of this fact; for he quotes from Wood his copies of the inscriptions, in the very page (572) in which he asserts, that he "made a correct guess as to their *approximate age*," merely "from the shape of the letters, and before he was

to assign to the inscriptions the true period of their erection. And, indeed, this cannot be done with certainty nearer than in a limit of *five* years, for it is clear that the co-emperor *Geta* had been *previously* assassinated; otherwise in both inscriptions *Julia* Augusta would have been styled, "MATRISDDNN," "Matris *Dominorum Nostrorum*,"[83] and not singly DN, "Domini Nostri," i. e. *Caracallæ*.

Geta having died in A.D. 212, and Caracalla in A.D. 217, the period *between* those years of course comprises the exact date.

And *thirdly*, I will take a brief notice of the *three temples* at Baalbec, the remains of which—so beautiful even in their decay—have been often drawn and extolled by travellers.

I find, from an inscription preserved by Muratori and discovered near Naples, that Jupiter was one of the "great gods of the Heliopolitans," in the year A.D. 112, when the Emperor Trajan was Cos. VI. It speaks of some natives of Berytus, now *Beirut*, who were residing at Puteoli (hodie *Puzzuoli*), as being worshippers of the Heliopolitan Jupiter, "cultores *Jovis* Heliopolitani:"[84] and, therefore, it is certain that there must at that time have been a *more ancient* temple to that great deity, who was originally considered by the Phœnicians, or natives, as the well-known god *Baal*. It appears, then, most probable that

able to read a word." These letters are long and very narrow, in order to be brought within the allotted space.

[83] So on coins, she is styled "Mater *Augg.*" (Augustorum, Geta being then alive), "Mater Senatûs," and "Mater Patriæ." Also "Mater Castrorum." See Smyth's "Descrip. Catal." p. 190.

[84] Vide Orell. 'Inscrip. Lat. Selec.,' vol. i. p. 268, No. 1246.

the present gigantic and more modern temple to "Jupiter Heliopolitanus" was built upon the ancient substructions of an earlier temple, by *Antoninus Pius*, between the years 138 and 161 of our era. The same emperor planned and erected, or possibly *began* only to erect—as the general character of the ornamented and superb architecture of the whole would seem to testify—the sacred enclosure or quadrangle in front of the great temple, the courts, colonnade, exhedræ, and other buildings, with the grand portico, and flight of steps ;[85] hence the whole circuit of those magnificent edifices became one of the *chief sights* of that country: although it is not unlikely the *entire* range of structures was not *completed* until the termination of the reign (A.D. 211) of *Septimius Severus*, upon a coin of which emperor, this temple is *first* publicly noticed. This coin bears upon its *reverse*, a representation of the existing great temple of Jupiter, having *ten columns* in front; above it are the letters I.O.M.H. (*Jovi* Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano), and below COL. HEL. (Colonia Heliopolis) appear. The *obverse* has the laureated head of the emperor, with the words, DIVO SEVERO; the date of which, I conclude from the presence of 'Divus,' is A.D. 211. Besides, the *same* emperor is recorded by Ulpian to have given to Heliopolis the

[85] The ground-plan of the church of *St. Clement*—which is stated to be the *most ancient* church in Rome, and consequently exhibiting one of the *earliest forms* of Western ecclesiastical structures—calls to my mind, on a much *smaller* scale, the plan of the Great Temple of Jupiter, its large square court or quadrangle, its portico, and steps. So in the Roman edifice are to be seen, a vestibule, a rectangular court surrounded with columns, a portico, and steps in front. The recent excavations under the church of S. Clemente may throw light on its real age. Some very old frescoes have been found.

privileges and right called *Jus Italicum*;[86] and it must be also remembered, that *Julia Domna* (the daughter of a priest of *Baal*) and her son *Caracalla*, who is associated with her in this inscription, were the wife and son of "Divus Severus."

The massive sub-basement, or substructions, of the *more ancient* temple of Jupiter probably consist in part of those enormous uncemented *stones*,—*three* of which are of the most stupendous dimensions,[87]—which are apparent in the second layer of the wall to the west of the Great Temple, and so have caused the name of *Trilithon* to be applied to the more modern and renowned temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. This circumstance is thus related in the 'Chronicon Paschale.'

Ausonius and Olybrius being consuls, in the year after Christ 379, "Theodosius (in the *first* year of his reign) destroyed the temple of Heliopolis, that of *Baal*,

[86] This is according to Wood, who thus cites that author (lib. i. De Cens.): "Est et Heliopolitana, quæ a *Divo Severo* per belli civilis occasionem *Italiæ* coloniæ *rempublicam* accepit." Ulpian died A.D. 226; and he must have written that account after the *death* of Septimius Severus, as he styles him 'Divus.' I have not been able to see the original work, so as to verify the passage.

[87] Dr. Robinson (Later Res. p. 512) gives the sizes of these stones, thus: the first is sixty-four feet long; the second is sixty-three feet eight inches; and the third is sixty-three feet: "their height is about thirteen feet, and their thickness perhaps greater. They are laid about twenty feet above the ground." Pococke, in vol. 2. plate xi., gives "a view of these great stones." And Edrisi (vol. i. p. 353, edit. *Jaubert*) mentions, about A.D. 1150, this great temple, and the enormous stones, as of the age of King Solomon. Compare 1 Kings vii. 10, where the foundation of Solomon's house for his wife, Pharaoh's daughter, "was of costly stones, even *great stones*, stones of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits." Also in the north-west side, the wall is composed of many colossal stones; *nine* being found to "average thirty-one feet in length."

the *great* and celebrated one, even the *three-stoned* (temple), and made it a church for Christians."[88]

*Οὗτος Θεοδόσιος κατέλυσεν τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως, τὸ τοῦ Βαλανίου, τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον, καὶ τὸ ΤΡΙΛΙΘΟΝ, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ Ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν.*[89]

The author of the chronicle is here exceedingly accurate in calling the *Great* Temple of Heliopolis, "the *Trilithon* Temple of *Baal*"—which most clearly corresponds with *that temple* figured on the coin of Septimius Severus, which has *ten* columns in its façade, and bears the initial letters I.O.M.H., as already described. Notwithstanding that some authors disagree about the interpretation of the word *Βαλανίου*, I take it to mean only "of *Baal*,"—the same as *Βαλαλίου*[90] or *Βαάλιου*, if *Βάαλ* were declinable; it is much the same as the Septuagint word *Βαλαγάδ*, "*Baal deity*." Also, to show that the author of the chronicle meant *νίου* to be the mere termination of *Βαλά*, or *Βάαλ*, he similarly

[88] But according to Socrates, Hist. Eccles. i. 14, Constantine overthrew some of the altars in Palestine, and ordered a church to be made *ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς Φοινίκης*. This was about fifty years *before* Theodosius; and so it would seem that Constantine's destruction of the temples was incomplete.

[89] 'Chronicon Paschale,' in Corp. Scrip. Byzant., vol. xii. p. 242, edit. *Venet.* 1729.

[90] The *Doric* dialect uses N for Λ, as *ἦνθε* for *ἦλθε*, etc. M. de Saulcy supposes *Βαλανίος* to consist of "the Shemitic word Βάαλ, and the Greek Ἥλιος, *sun*;" and that this temple was "the Temple of *Baal*, or the *sun*, and surnamed *Trilithon*" (vol. ii. p. 578). This is evidently erroneous, as I have shown in the text; the *smaller* temple being that of the *sun*. Mr. Porter, in his 'Handbook,' vol. ii. p. 560, has made the *same* mistake, most likely by following Dr. Robinson (Later Res. p. 521). Another author has conjectured, with more probability, that ΝΙΟΣ is an error in copying for ΔΙΟΣ, "of *Jupiter*," and consequently ΒΑΛΑΔΙΟΣ (of Jupiter Baal) is the true word.

uses *νησίας* for the genitive termination of Libanus, *Λιβανησίας*.

The passage I insert, since it refers to Heliopolis and is of interest.

The 'Chronicon Paschale' mentions, in the 269th Olympiad (=A.D. 297), which was during the rule of Diocletian, the martyrdom of St. Gelasinus in the theatre in the city of the Heliopolitans of (or in) the Lebanon,—*ἐν τῇ Ἡλιουπολιτῶν πόλει τῆς Λιβανησίας*.[91] So Joannes Malalas writes, *ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τοῦ Λιβάνου*.[92]

Doubtless, then, the words *τοῦ Βαλανίου* are synonymous with *τοῦ Βάαλ*, or *τοῦ Βαλά*: and all these correspond with *τοῦ Διός*, *Jovis*, "of Jupiter," *that is*, "of Baal," "of Jupiter," or "of Jupiter Baal."

The *second* Roman temple is nearly one-fourth smaller, though more perfect, than the former; it stands only fifty yards apart from it on the south, and has but *eight* columns in front. It is built in the same highly-finished style of architecture. This temple has doubtless been sacred to *Ἥλιος*, the *sun*, or Apollo. The great doorway under the east portico, leading into the temple, is one of the most splendid specimens of ornamented sculpture and finish, which is now in existence. The elaborate and rich design of flowers and fruit in its front, is no less beautiful than perfect in its execution. In order to judge of its large dimensions, its height is found to be about double of its width, *i. e.* fourteen yards high by about seven yards in width. The top, or lintel, consists only of three stones; the centre one, or keystone (*soffit*), has become misplaced by the effect of an earthquake within the last

[91] Corp. Scrip. Byzant. vol. xii. p. 220.

[92] 'Chronographia,' p. 119, edit. *Venet.* 1733.

century, and it is kept suspended between the other two stones. Under this keystone is admirably carved an *eagle*, carrying a *caduceus* in its claws. This, as Pococke well observes, "possibly represents the *sun* to whom *that* temple was dedicated."[93]

The little *rotunda*, or circular temple, is of similar decorated architecture and of great beauty. Its form is remarkable, and very different from the famous *rotunda* or temple of *Vesta*[94] at Rome. It is a circle, to which are attached externally by their curved sides five arcs or segments of a circle, whose ends are supported by six Corinthian columns. The diameter of the interior is thirty-two feet. The façade seems to have presented to view four columns, and a flight of steps leading up to the temple between the two central columns. From thence a doorway, thirteen feet wide, led into the inside; which is in its lower part Ionic, but the upper is Corinthian. All the elegant columns, both external and internal, have *monolithal* shafts. It was covered by a circular dome of hewn stones, now fallen, and is situated about three hundred yards to the south-east of the other two temples. I am strongly inclined to think that it was the temple sacred to *Voluptas*, or *Venus*, who is signified by Eusebius[95] under the appellation of *Ἡδονή*, or

[93] 'Description of the East,' vol. ii. p. 109.

[94] "As in the temple of *Vesta* the sacred *fire* was always kept burning by the *virgins*, so, on this temple being converted into a Christian church, it was dedicated to the *Virgin*, with the title of the *Sun*,—Sta. *Maria* del *Sole*."—Hogg's 'Letters from Abroad,' p. 28. Also we learn from a coin of *Julia Domna*, described by Smyth (p. 189, No. 340) that its reverse has "Vesta Mater," and this circular temple, which she is said to have rebuilt.

[95] Euseb. De Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. 56.

*Pleasure*, and which was "at *Heliopolis* of the Phœnicians," ἐπὶ τῆς Φοινίκων Ἡλιουπόλεως. Although no inscription has as yet been discovered which relates to this goddess and her licentious rites, as practised in that city, still Eusebius records that she was greatly reverenced in Heliopolis.

Dr. Robinson styles this temple "a perfect gem;" and, having been so elegant a structure, it was altogether worthy of the Goddess of Beauty. It has been of later date, even in the last century, used as a Greek church.

"No description," says the same traveller, "can convey more than a very imperfect idea of the overpowering grandeur or the impressive decay" of these splendid, but sadly-ruined, temples. "In vastness of plan, combined with elaborateness and delicacy of execution, they seem to surpass all others in Western Asia, in Africa, and in Europe. They are like those of Athens in lightness, but surpass them far in vastness; they are vast and massive like those of Thebes, but far excel them in airiness and grace."[96]

Having already described the *earliest* coin, upon which the Great Temple of Heliopolis appears, and which seems to be one belonging to the end of the reign of Septimius Severus, and which most likely was struck (A.D. 211) in honour of his obsequies, on his then recent death, or on his *apotheosis*, or deification, I will proceed to mention several other coins, which illustrate the *temples* and the *Sun-worship* in that ancient city of Baal.

In Admiral Smyth's 'Catalogue of Large Brass Medals' (p. 123, No. 218), a fine medal of Anto-

[96] Robinson's Later Bibl. Researches, pp. 516–17.

ninus Pius is stated to have on its *reverse* a figure of Apollo, the head of which "is encompassed with a large *nimbus*, or glory." This figure very probably presents an allusion to the Apollo, or *Sun-deity*, of Heliopolis, where the great temple of Jupiter Baal was being rebuilt by him. Julius Capitolinus, in his memoir on Antoninus Pius, makes no mention of this; but he writes, in chapter ix., "terræ motus, quo Rhodiorum, et *Asiæ oppida* conciderunt; quæ omnia mirificè *instauravit*." The ancient temple of Baal at Heliopolis may very probably have been injured by the *same* earthquake, and that emperor rebuilt it in the splendid Corinthian style. About the year 69 A.D., Vespasian restored the temple of the Paphian Venus in Cyprus, which had been overthrown by a like convulsion; this was some seventy years before; but earthquakes are frequent in all that country: indeed, the circular temple at Baalbec is now so ruined by them that it is likely to fall at any time. The date of that medal is about A.D. 145, after that emperor was Consul for the fourth time.

But an earlier coin of Severus is referred to by Eckhel[97] which shows that that emperor was represented as the *Sun*, or the Lord of Day, and his wife, Julia Domna, as the *Moon*, or Queen of Night.

So, a coin of their son, Caracalla, in his fourth consulship, A.D. 215, is described in Smyth's work[98] as exhibiting that emperor with a radiated head driving in a quadriga, like the Sun, or Apollo,—*Μάστιγι σὺν λιγυρῇ τετρώορον ἅρμα διώκων*,[99]—and of whom Xyphilinus

[97] Eckhel, Doct. Num. vol. vii. pp. 181–2.

[98] See Smyth's Descrip. Cat. p. 195, No. 354.

[99] Orpheus, 'Hymn to Helius,' v. 19.

writes, "Dicebat se in agitandis curribus *solem* imitari, eâque in re maxime gloriabatur."

Also on a coin of Caracalla, mentioned by Mionnet,[100] the reverse has a side-view of the *temple of Jupiter*, ornamented with a great number of columns, and a flight of steps leading up to it, the legend being, "Col. Hel. I.O.M.H.;" and on some more coins of Caracalla and Domna the word *Heliopolis*, or *Hel.*, or *Col.-Hel.*, occurs.

The principal coin, however, to which I have before alluded, is that of Otacilia, the empress of Philip the Arabian. It seems to have been minted soon after A.D. 245. Its obverse bears the head of the empress, with the words around, "Otacilia Severa Aug(usta);" whilst its reverse presents, for *so small* a coin, a very fair representation of the façade of the portico of the great temple at Baalbec, with the *two lateral* buildings, and the noble flight of steps. Immediately over the roof of the portico are the letters, "I.O.M.H." (Iovi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano). Again, above them in the field, the legend "Col. Jul. Aug. F. H." is seen, and this signifies, "Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Heliopolis." Below, in the exergue, the abbreviations "Col. Hel." (Colonia Heliopolitana) occur, with the figure of a cypress—a tree indigenous in Lebanon[1]—between them. Also, within the central door of the portico, another cypress-tree is visible. Eckhel[2] interprets the presence of the *cypress* here from being

[100] Vide Mionnet, Descr. de Médailles, tom. v. p. 300, No. 109.

[1] So in Ecclesiasticus (xxiv. 13) it is said, in the Septuagint, ὡς κυπάρισσος ἐν ὄρεσιν Ἁερμών, "like a *cypress-tree* in the mountains of Hermon."

[2] Doct. Num. vol. iii. p. 331.

the tree *sacred* to the *Sun*; for the youth Cyparissus, beloved by Apollo, was transformed by him into that tree—

"Sumptoque rigore
*Sidereum* gracili spectare cacumine *cœlum*."

And the same learned author thus explains the representation on this coin:—"Typus hic mox dicta de *Jove* et *Sole* uno nomine comprehensis confirmat; *epigraphe* namque ad *Jovem*, *arbor* ad *Solem* refertur."

The portico there figured has six columns on each side of the central door; and it is on the wide, but low, bases of the *first* and *twelfth* of these columns that the two long inscriptions, No. VI. and No. VII., are still visible. Proceeding through this door, and having traversed the courts, the great temple, with its *ten* columns in front, is approached: this temple is identified by the previously described coin of Severus, and it bears the *same* four initial letters, I.O.M.H., as are seen on the coin of Otacilia. The portico, then, and the *great temple* beyond it, are thus indisputably decided as having been both dedicated to the great Heliopolitan *Jupiter*, or Baal; consequently, the *smaller* temple on the south-west side of these magnificent structures must be that which was sacred to Apollo, the *Sun*, or *Helius*.[3]

A medal of Philip Senior, described by Mionnet (No. 123, p. 302), bears on its obverse the laureated head of Philip, and on its reverse a *cypress-tree* in a

[3] I have been thus minute in the identification of the portico and the *two* temples, because three recent travellers have mistaken them. M. de Saulcy (ii. p. 554) seems to have been the *first* to assign a *change* of names to the two temples; the *second* is Dr. Robinson (p. 521), who has followed him; and the *third* (Mr. Porter) too often inconsiderately copies from the American, especially in his 'Handbook of Syria.'

temple; at the foot of its steps an altar, etc., with the legend, "Col. Hel. I.O.M.H.;" and Admiral Smyth alludes (p. 264) to a medallion of the same emperor, which is inscribed "ex oraculo *Apollinis*." Both of these would show that, at *first*, that emperor was a worshipper of Jupiter *Baal*, or Apollo, or the *Sun*. In Heliopolis there was a famous oracle, doubtless established by the *priests of Baal*, which (about A.D. 115) had been more than once consulted by the Emperor Trajan. According to several writers, among whom are St. Jerome and Chrysostom, Philip became a convert to Christianity *shortly* before his death.[4] But it seems most likely, from this coin of Otacilia, that *she continued* a follower of the worship of the Heliopolitan Jupiter, and that it was minted after or about the time of the death of her husband, near Verona, in the summer of A.D. 249; the empress and her son, the younger Philip, the "nobilis Cæsar," being then in Rome.

That this smaller temple was dedicated to *Apollo*, or Helius, the sculptured *eagle*, already noticed as seen on the soffit of its great door, fully confirms. A representation of this eagle is given in Wood's 'Baalbec,' tab. 34, fig. E; it is drawn as flying with outstretched wings, and bearing in its claws a *caduceus*, but the ground on which it is placed is quite plain and unornamented. The caduceus here figured has not the two entwined snakes, and Pococke states it to "be an emblem of commerce and riches, which are the consequence of the bounty" of the *Sun*. Indeed I find that many of the coins of Heliopolis bears figures of the *caduceus*. This winged rod once belonged to

[4] See Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., vol. v. p. 250.

Apollo, and was held to typify peace, happiness, and good fortune.

Further, it is worthy of notice, that on the soffit of the door of the cella of the temple of the Sun at Palmyra is sculptured a *similar* eagle, with expanded wings, carrying in its claws *two palm-branches*, which, doubtless, are equally emblematic of peace and prosperity. It is engraven in Wood's 'Palmyra,' tab. 18, fig. H, but the ornamented ground upon which it is represented is intended for the *heavens*, because numerous stars are figured; and below the palm-branches, on each side, are seen *three balls*, which perhaps signify fire-balls or celestial meteors.

In both the *eagles* differ from that represented as the attendant bird of Jupiter, by bearing a *crest*, which may possibly allude to the radiated orb or *rays* of the *Sun*. Of all birds, indeed, the eagle is the most appropriate emblem of the sun, since it is considered to be able to look upon its dazzling splendour with ease, and in its aerial flight[5] to approach nearer to it than any other winged creature.

The *eagles* on the soffits of these two temples at Baalbec and Palmyra are doubtless intentionally the *same* in design, and they emblematically proclaim the Sun, or *Helius*, to be the deity to which they were consecrated; the *palm-branches*, moreover, apparent in the latter, clearly allude to the Roman and Hebrew names of the city, *Palmyra* and *Thadmor*, or *Tadmor*,

[5] The eagle, when soaring in the air, if foreshortened, would resemble the figure of a *winged sun; i. e.* the orb of day corresponding to the eagle's body, and each sustained by two wings. The sun with wings signified its *then* supposed *daily* motion, and its power of penetrating into all corners of the world. See Psalm xix. 6.

derived from *Tamar*, תמר—a *date-palm* tree. In fact, the palm-tree, it must be recollected, was also sacred to the god Apollo, as he was born under one on Mount Cynthus, in the isle of Delos.[6]

The great temple of *Jupiter* and the smaller one of the *Sun*, although so close together, were most likely at first independent and distinct in their respective deities, or objects of separate worship. The first was doubtless in its original state, that very ancient one spoken of as the "Temple of Baal," and erected for the early Phœnician inhabitants of *Baalath*, the city built by *Solomon*,[7] in the tenth century before Christ. After the decay of that temple Antoninus Pius began to rebuild it, and this he did on a more enlarged and magnificent scale; that emperor having, without doubt, planned the additional superb edifices, courts, porticoes, etc., which were to form the approaches to the great temple, and in the vast precincts of which it was enclosed. The completion of these additional structures was clearly effected by his immediate successors in the empire.

Then this new temple seems to have received the title of the great *Roman* god, *Jupiter*, in addition to, or combined with, the original *Phœnician* deity, *Baal;* and so the Roman names of the conjoint divinity became *Jupiter Baal*, whilst the Greek appellations

[6] See Homer's 'Hymn to Apollo,' 18 and 117; and Callimachus, 'Hymn to Apollo,' 4.

[7] There seems to be much resemblance, in the early and massive style of building with "great stones," between the sub-basement of this temple and the remains of the solid wall at the "Jews' Wailing Place" in Jerusalem. Both would appear to point out *Solomon* as their *builder*.

were *Ζεὺς Βαλάλιος* or *Ζεὺς Ἥλιος*. It seems further to be most probable, that after the Romans or the Greek natives had changed the names of the city from *Baalath*, and *On* or *Aven*, to *Heliopolis*, they built for their own worship a temple—about the beginning of the third century of our era—which they dedicated to the deity of their own extended mythology, who represented in many of his characters the local god, Baal, or the *Sun*, viz. to Apollo, or *Helius*. From the present ruined condition of the walls and buildings contiguous to these two temples, it has not been decided that the smaller temple, or that of Apollo, or *Sol*, was ever included *within* the same area and sacred walls as the temple of *Jupiter Baal;* but, from the representation on the reverse of the coin of Otacilia, the presence of the *two cypresses*—that species of tree so sacred to the Sun, Helius, or Apollo—would indicate that they had; and, indeed, the temple of the Sun was only ten yards distant from the south wall of the great quadrangle.

Consequently it would appear, that in the time of Philip and Otacilia the worship and sacred mysteries, as conducted in these two temples, were, in a great degree, united; although most probably the *oracular* functions were confined to the smaller temple of Apollo (*Sol*), and, possibly, the two vaulted rooms[8] beneath its upper end, or altar, were occupied by the priests of the oracle; whilst the famous and ancient image of Jupiter, or *Zeus Helius*, which had been brought from Egypt, was retained as the sacred idol in the great temple of Jupiter Baal, or *Zeus Heliopolites*. So, I apprehend, no doubt can exist that the worship of

[8] See Pococke, vol. ii. p. 109.

*Baal*, afterwards identified with *Jupiter*, and the culture of *Apollo*, with his usual power of conferring *oracles*, in the character of the Sun-deity, "Deus *Sol*," being originally *distinct*, were gradually assimilated[9] by the mixed people of Heliopolis, namely, Phœnicians, Græco-Syrians, Greeks, and Romans; and, at length, they became *one* and the same. And this the acute Eckhel evidently means, where he has well said of the coin of Otacilia, "Typus hic . . . de Jove et Sole *uno* nomine comprehensis confirmat."

Moreover, the *union* of the worship of the deities Jupiter, Zeus, or *Baal*, and Apollo, Phœbus, or the *Sun*, is indicated on the reverse of a Phœnician coin figured in Combe's Num. Vet. No. 12, pl. 13. Jupiter, as *Baal*, is seated upon a winged wheel, which represents the *Sun's* car; in his left hand he holds an eagle, the emblem of the *Sun*, Helius, or Apollo. Below the eagle, in the field, is seen what Combe terms "larva barbata," which is, in fact, a mask, or head, of *Silenus*. This is the Duc de Luynes' interpretation of what Combe supposed to be an "unknown coin." The introduction of the bearded head of that sylvan god, in the lower part of the field, refers most likely to the *oracular* skill of Apollo, since *Silenus* was considered as a *prophet*, with whom the *past*, as well as *future*, events were equally familiar:—

> "Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
> Semina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent,
> Et liquidi simul ignis. . . .
> Jamque novum terræ stupeant lucescere *solem*."

[9] So Antiochus IV. (*Epiphanes*) associated the worship of *Jupiter*, about B.C. 171, with that of the celebrated *Apollo* in the sanctuary at

And the same poet[10] afterwards speaks of the—

"Oracula Fauni
Fatidici."

And Ælian, mentioning Silenus, describes him thus:—
*Ὁ Σιληνὸς οὗτος θεοῦ μὲν ἀφανέστερος τὴν φύσιν, ἀνθρώπου δὲ κρείττων καὶ θανάτου ἦν.*[11]

The two long inscriptions, No. VI. and No. VII., mention the "*great* gods of Heliopolis," "*Magni* Dii Heliopolitani," and these, as far as can be ascertained, were *Baal*, Zeus, Jupiter, Apollo, Phœbus, Sol, or Helius, and Venus, Aphrodite, or Hedone (*Voluptas*).

To the Goddess of Beauty, or *Pleasure*, having already sufficiently alluded, I will now proceed briefly to consider these other *great* gods, their *identity* under certain attributes, and the *one* common worship (at a later period) of the *Sun-deity*.

The *Sun* was the "great god" whom the most early nations, who were ignorant of the one Almighty Creator of the Universe,[12] chiefly worshipped, and whom they held to be the Lord or Sovereign of Heaven,[13] and the great Father of the world. This was most natural, seeing that that splendid luminary, in his vast power, gave life, vigour, warmth, and increase to all parts of the universe, and to every created

Daphne, near Antioch. See Smith's Dict. Greek and Rom. Geog., vol. i. p. 751. And in that sacred spot there were some famous cypresses. Compare 2 Maccab. iv. 33.

[10] Virgil, Ecl. vi. 31, 37, and Æn. vii. 81.

[11] Ælian, Var. Hist., lib. iii. cap. 18.

[12] Being "*ignorant of God;* neither by considering the *works* did they acknowledge the *Workmaster*."—See Wisdom xiii. 1–5, and Psalm xix. 1, 6.

[13] See, as to *Sol* or *Helius* having been taken into heaven, Diodor. Sic., lib. iii. cap. 57.

being. Without his presence it was conceived that nothing could grow, or flourish, or arrive at maturity, but that everything would perish; and, by being obscured in perpetual darkness, and through want of sufficient heat, every creature would cease to grow, and would inevitably be lost. Besides, his supposed daily and annual motions seemed to invest the Sun with a supernatural or celestial influence and eternal power, which would also conduce those persons, to whom the only *true* God was unknown,[14] to regard him with awe, to laud him with prayers and hymns for his great benefits conferred on them, and to continue to adore him in wonder and admiration.

The *solar orb*, then, was worshipped in most Pagan countries under various appellations. Thus, in certain of his characters, the *Sun* is identified with the earliest Phœnician god *Baal*, as well as with the great father of gods, *Jupiter*. Sanchoniathon,[15] many centuries before Christ, records that Beelsamen, or *Baal-shamin*, meaning the "Lord of the Heavens," was considered by the Phœnicians to be the *Sun*, Helius, who was called by the Greeks *Ζεύς*, or *Jupiter*. Also, in 2 Kings xxiii. 5, *Baal* is evidently spoken of (about B.C. 624) as *identical* with "the *Sun*;"[16] and the *same* is to be understood in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4, at nearly the

[14] Τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν, ὃν ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔγνω.—St. John, chap. xvii. 3, 25.

[15] See this before stated at p. 12, and the passage is cited in note 21.

[16] "To *Baal*, the *Sun*," as in the original Hebrew, which shows that they were not *two* deities, but *one*—"to *Baal* (who is) the *Sun*." Had it been written "to Baal *and* to the Sun," the meaning would have applied to *two*. The opinion of Gesenius cannot here be correct.

*same* period, when the altars of the *Baals*[17] and the "*sun-images*" above them were broken down.

And in an inscription found at Palmyra, and in the Palmyrene dialect, *Baal* is termed *Shemesh*, or the *Sun*, בעל שמש; *Baal Shemesh* signifying "Baal Sun," or "the Lord Sun."[18]

Herodotus (I. 181) expressly states that the Baby-

[17] The original is here, and in Judges ii. 11, הבעלים, *ha Baalim*, "the *Baals*," or "idols of *Baal*," the plural of *Baal*, "Bahalim," and, according to the French version; "les Bahalins." So, in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4, the same words are found; "the *sun*-images," as given in the margin of our English Bible, is, in the original החמנים, which Walton renders in Latin "apricationes." In Greek, *apricatio* is ἡλίωσις.

[18] Vide Movers, 'Die Phönizier,' i. 174. In like manner, in Joshua xix. 41, *Ir-shemesh*, *i. e.* the "city of the Sun" (another *Heliopolis*), is mentioned; and in Jeremiah xliii. 13, *Beth-shemesh*, the "house of the Sun." In the first of these texts, the Alexandrine version closely translates the words by πόλις Σαμές; but the Vatican is less accurate in making them plural, πόλεις Σαμμαὺς; and the last word is not so near *Shemesh*, or *Semes*, as Σαμές. Also, in the second text, the LXX. have rendered *Beth-shemesh* into Ἡλιουπολις; and "the land of Egypt" is represented by Ὤν, or *On*, in Egypt. Our Bible reads, "the images of *Beth-shemesh*, that is in the land of Egypt," which the LXX. have translated τούς στύλους Ἡλιουπόλεως, τοὺς ἐν Ὤν. Again, in Isaiah xix. 18, our Bible has translated עיר החרס, *ir ha heres*, "the city of destruction;" and in the margin "of *Heres*, or of the *Sun*." The LXX. here render πόλις Ἀσεδέκ, whereas the Complutensian edition follows the Hebrew by giving Ἀχερές, which is only *ha heres*; and the version of Symmachus after πόλις reads ἡλίου. Then the literal rendering will be, "one city shall be called the city of the *Sun*," or *On*; and as this last word sometimes means *non-existing*, or *nothing*, "destruction" appears to be correct. In Joshua xix. 41, the Latin from the Arabic text, instead of Urbs Semes, gives "*fons* Semes," *i. e. Bir-semes*, as if the Hebrew was *Beer*-semes, "the *well* of the Sun;" and in Isaiah xix. 18 the same has "urbs *Ain-semes*," or the "city of the *fountain* of the sun."

lonian *Belus* was *Jupiter*—*Ζεὺς Βῆλος*, as he styles that deity; and Nonnus (Dionysiac. iii. 291) writes—

*Ζῆνα Λιβυν τέκε Βῆλον . . .*

that the Libyan *Jupiter* was *Belus*. So, by the same poet (Dionys. 40), *Jupiter* is accounted the *Sun*.

Likewise, it is to be noticed that Orpheus, or the author of the Orphic poems, considers that Jupiter, or *Zeus*, was the *same* as the Sun, or *Helius*. Thus, he begins his hymn to Helius by invoking him as *Τιτάν χρυσαυγῆς*; and then, in verse 13, he calls him—

*. . . ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ*
*Εὔδιε παμφαῆ. . . .*

And, according to Macrobius (Saturn. i. 23), *Jupiter* was identical with *Sol*, or the Sun; and that *Sol*, "under the name of *Jupiter*," was the god whom the Syrians worshipped in Heliopolis. These are the words of Macrobius:—"Nec ipse *Jupiter*, rex deorum, *Solis* naturam videtur excedere; sed *eumdem* esse *Jovem* ac *Solem* claris docetur indiciis." "Syrii quoque *Solem*, sub nomine *Jovis*, . . . celebrant in civitate quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur."

The last great god, or "Magnus Deus Heliopolitanus," was *Apollo*, who was *one* and the *same* with the *Solar* deity.

This being so well known, I need only state a few authorities in support of their *identity*.

Ovid styles Apollo sometimes *Sol* and sometimes *Phœbus*. See Metamorphoses, book i. ver. 751–2, and book ii. vv. 32–35, 36. And Callimachus, in his 'Hymn to Apollo,' terms that god indifferently, *Φοῖβος* and *Ἀπόλλων*.[19]

[19] Both Homer and Hesiod call *Apollo* Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, 'Hymn to Apollo,' vv. 52, 201, 254, etc.; and Hesiod, *in fragmento*, v. 98. See *post*, p. 69.

Pausanias calls *Apollo*, the Sun, or *Helius*; and he adds, that not only were the Phœnicians, but also the Greeks of the *same* opinion:—*'Απόλλωνα δὲ Ἥλιον . . . ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα, οὐδὲν δέ τι Φοινίκων μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ Ἑλλήνων εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἔφην.*[20]

The following lines of Orpheus quoted by Joannes Malalas (Chronogr. lib. iv.) testify the same thing:—

> *Ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἱὲ ἑκατηβόλε, Φοῖβε κραταιὲ,*
> *Παυδερκὲς,*[21] *θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσων,*
> *Ἥλιε.*

Macrobius also asserts the same; writing of the Temple at Heliopolis, he adds, "Hujus templi religio etiam *divinatione* præpollet, quæ ad *Apollinis* potestatem refertur, qui *idem* atque *Sol* est."[22]

And this last author, as I have just before shown, has stated that *Jupiter* and the *Sun* were the *same* deities; consequently, Jupiter and Apollo were identical, and both were the *same* with Phœbus, *Sol*, or *Helius*. So, again, Macrobius relates (i. 21), "*Hammonem*, quem deum *Solem* occidentem Libyes existimant, arietinis cornibus fingunt, quibus maxime id animal valet, sicut *Sol* radiis."

And Herodian, mentioning the *oracles* of a local god called *Belis*,[23] says, he was considered to be

[20] Pausanias, Græc. Descr. lib. vii. cap. 23, s. 6.

[21] So Orpheus, in his Hymn 7, to the Sun, *Helius*, begins—

> *. . . παυδερκὲς ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα.*

And Nonnus (Dionysiac. lib. ix. ver. 276) calls Apollo, like the Sun, 'all-seeing,' *Ἀπόλλωνα πανόψιον*.

[22] *Macrob.* Saturn. lib. i. cap. 23. He there says that the Emperor Trajan, just before he left that province (Syria) for Parthia, (A.D. 115) with his army, consulted the *oracle* of the *Sun* at Heliopolis.

[23] *Βέλιν δὲ καλοῦσι τοῦτον, σέβουσί τε ὑπερφυῶς, Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι ἐθέλοντες.*—Herodiani Hist. lib. viii. cap. 7.

*Apollo;* this *Belis* was probably only another variation of *Belus*, Bel, or Baal.[24] This occurred about A.D. 236.

I will also cite the following passage from the Greek text of the inscription on the Rosetta stone, in order to show how *Jupiter's* and the *Sun's* names were associated by the ancient Egyptian priests:—*Ὦ ὁ Ἥλιος ἔδωκεν τὴν νίκην· εἰκόνος ζώσης τοῦ Διὸς, υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἡλίου, Πτολεμαίου, αἰωνοβίου, ἠγαπημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ Φθᾶ.*[25] This monument, now in the British Museum, sets forth, as is well known, in three languages, a decree in honour of *Ptolemy V.*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, by the high priests, who were assembled at Memphis, upon the occasion of his coronation as king, about the year 196 B.C. Some have thought that a temple of the Sun (*Helius*, or *Rê*) then existed in Memphis; and that the local name of *Phrê*, or *Phrah*, meaning the Sun, was in use with the inhabitants of that city. And much the same formula has been noticed, as applied to Rameses, on the obelisk of Hermapion; it runs thus:—*Ἡλίου παῖς αἰωνόβιος, ὃν Ἥλιος φιλεῖ, ὑπὸ Ἡλίου φιλούμενος.*

As I have already proved the identity of *Jupiter* with *Baal*, or *Belus*, so it follows that *Apollo*, or the Sun, was likewise identical with the same Phœnician deity.

Hence it will appear, that for the purposes of the

[24] Servius, who wrote about A.D. 420, says, on the word *Belus*, Virgil, Æn. i. 733, "Linguâ Punicâ *Bal* deus, apud Assyrios autem *Bel*, dicitur; quadam sacrorum ratione et Saturnus, et *Sol*." And he had before observed, "nam omnes in illis partibus (Assyriæ) *Solem* colunt."—Comment. in Virg.

[25] Vide Inscrip. Grec. de Rosette, par M. Letronne, pp. 1, 8.

*Sun-worship*, all these "Great Gods"—Baal, Bêl, Belus, Belis, Zeus, Jupiter, Apollo, Phœbus, Sol, and Helius—were equally held to be, in certain of their characters, *one* and the *same*, namely, the glorious *Sun*, the highly adored Divinity of *Heliopolis*—the Sun-city, On, or Aun, Baalath, or Baalbec.

Lastly, on the subject of *Heliosebeia*,[26] that is to say, the *Heliacal* or Solar adoration, or *Sun-worship*, I will make a few remarks.

This most natural and primeval worship of the glorious orb of day, as the Great Deity of the world, has existed among the most ancient nations, especially the *Shemitic* tribes, from a most early period; to it the first of known authors, the patriarch Job, evidently alludes, about B.C. 1520, in these words:—"If I beheld the *Sun* when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, . . . I should have denied the *God* that is above."[27]

In the fifteenth century before Christ (about B.C. 1451), Moses forbade the Israelites, lest they lift their eyes unto heaven, and when they see the *Sun*, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, they should worship them and serve them. And again, he

[26] *Heliosebeia* I have formed like *θεοσέβεια*, *Dei cultus*, a word used in the Septuagint in Job xxviii. 28. Ἡλιοσέβεια, *Solis* cultus, therefore, means *Sun-worship*.

[27] Job xxxi. 26–28. "Kissing the hand" is one of the earliest forms of adoration; it is mentioned by Lucian as practised by the Greeks when worshipping the *Sun*. (Parkhurst.) So Lucretius (De Rer. Nat.) lib. v. ver. 1200):—

"Pandere palmas
Ante Deûm delubra."

Apuleius (*Apologia*) explains it better, thus:—"Nam ut audio partim

expressly commands them, when they are come into the land which the Lord giveth them, they shall not learn to do after the *abominations* of those nations.[28] These were the "abominations," or the abominable worshippings, which were practised by the early nations in Canaan, whose territories they were to possess; that is to say, the worship of Baal, or the *Sun*, and heavenly bodies, as well as that of Molech. And we are told, that "for those *abominations* the Lord drove" those nations out of *that* promised land. Thus it would appear, that these abominable adorations had been *common* in *that* country *long before* the period (B.C. 1451) here alluded to; and not in Canaan alone, but certainly in Phœnicia, and the adjoining districts.

Next, we find it recorded in Judges ii. 9–14, that the children of Israel, about B.C. 1406, had actually transgressed[29] the command of Moses, and "served *Baalim*"—the *Baals*, or idols of Baal; and that they had forsaken "the Lord God of their fathers, and served *Baal*," which was the *Sun*.

Then the ancient Phœnician writer, Sanchoniathon, probably in the twelfth century before our era, confirms the statement that his countrymen esteemed the *Sun* to be the *sole* celestial *God;* on him, as has been observed, they bestowed the lofty title of *Belsamen*, 'Lord of the Heavens,' and of course to him they sacrificed, burnt incense, and offered prayers.

Œensium, qui istum novere, nulli Deo ad hoc ævi supplicavit, nullum templum frequentavit: si fanum aliquod prætereat, nefas habet, *adorandi gratia manum labris* admovere." And Pliny (Nat. Hist. 28, 2), "in adorando dexteram ad osculum referimus."

[28] Deut. iv. 9, xviii. 9–14.

[29] And again as recorded in 2 Kings xvii. 10, 11, 16.

But by the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ, the *Sun-worship* had become more generally extended from Baal, *Helius*, or the *Sun*,[30]—"to the moon, and, to the planets, and to *all the host* of heaven." And probably with the view of attaining as *near* to these *celestial* bodies as they could, they "burnt incense in the *high* places;"[31] so that the perfumes arising from it, as well as the odours from the burnt offerings and sacrifices which they were accustomed to offer upon their altars, might not be prevented from ascending with greater acceptation, and without the hindrance of the lower atmosphere and other vapours, to *all* the heavenly host. These nations were thus early wont to build their shrines and altars "on high places," and even "upon the roofs of houses."[32]

For the *same* reason, the early Greeks used to sacrifice to *Zeus*, or Jupiter,—who, as it has been proved, was equally accounted the Sun, *Helius*, or Baal,—upon the *top* of a hill or mountain.

[30] 2 Kings xvii. 16, and xxiii. 5.

[31] Hosea also says (iv. 13), "They sacrifice upon the *tops* of the mountains, and burn incense upon the *hills*."

[32] Jeremiah xix. 5, 13, and xxxii. 29, 35. I have previously noticed the remains of a temple, which was discovered by Mr. Porter, on the summit of *Baal-hermon*, and this is thus confirmed by a lady (E. A. Beaufort) who has recently (1859) ascended to the same spot:—"A massive wall once encircled the highest peak of the mountain (*Hermon*), and a temple stood here; the ground is covered with the large hewn stones of the outer wall; a few of them were bevelled, and we saw some bold, simple sculpturing on some of the others. No one could stand on that summit and turn his eyes from east to west, from north to south, without feeling that no worshippers of the *Sun* could have left so grand a spot unconsecrated to their god." See 'Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines,' vol. ii. p. 14.

Thus Sophocles (in *Trachin.* v. 1207) has—

Οἶσθ' οὖν τὸν Οἴτης Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον;
Οἶδ', ὡς θυτήρ γε πολλὰ δὴ σταθεὶς ἄνω.[33]

Again, the same poet had previously mentioned the high promontory of Cenæum as celebrated for the *same* purpose (v. 765):—

Ἀκτή τις ἀμφίκλυστος Εὐβοίας ἄκρον
Κήναιόν ἐστιν, ἔνθα, πατρῴῳ Διὶ
Βωμοὺς ὁρίζει, τεμενίαν τε φυλλάδα.

Also, on the lofty summit of Olympus, as well as on Gargarus, the highest portion of Mount Ida, were shrines and altars, sacred to Jupiter:

Γάργαρον, ἔνθα δὲ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις.[34]

Jupiter is termed *Hypsistus*, or *Ζεὺς ὕψιστος*, from being worshipped, like *Baal*, on the *tops* of mountains; and Homer terms him, for the like reason, *Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος*.

But the *most ancient* temple of Jupiter was at the *lofty* Dodona, in Epirus, which was of *Pelasgic* origin:

Δωδώνην, φηγόν τε Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον ἦεν.[35]

According to Æschylus,[36] this town was placed on a *high* mountain, which some account as Mons Tomarus, or *Tmarus*; thus he speaks of it:—

Τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ' ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα
Μαντεῖα θῶκός τ' ἐστὶ θεσπρωτοῦ Διός.

[33] Mount Œta, we know, was especially so frequented; and, according to Strabo, lib. ix. cap. 4, it was ὄρος τραχὺ καὶ ὑψηλόν.

[34] Hom. Il. viii. 48.

[35] Hesiodi Fragment. v. 47; and see Strabo, Geogr. lib. vii. cap. 7, s. 10, and s. 11, who calls the oracle, Πελασγῶν ἵδρυμα.

[36] *Æschyl.* Prom. Vinct. v. 830; and see Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 1.

And Homer[37] calls Dodona very cold or *stormy*, that is, from its *high* position:—

> Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικὲ, τηλόθι ναίων,
> Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου.

So with the Latins, in very early days, there was on *Mons Albanus*, the highest peak of the Alban Hills, east of Rome, a most ancient temple sacred to Jupiter. Some old walls and other remains of it are still to be seen near *Rocca di Papa*. Lucan[38] describes Jupiter as—

> "Et residens *celsâ* Latialis Jupiter *Albâ*."

And we know that the sacrifices and offerings to the deity, at the annual *feriæ Latinæ*, lasted for several days.[39]

But this early worship of Jupiter upon Mount Albanus was most probably introduced from Dodona,[40] or at all events by the *Pelasgians*. For a colony of this race is related to have arrived from Epirus into Italy, and expressly by Pliny into *Latium*[41] Antiquum, and he enumerates the *Pelasgi* as being the *first* colonists after those he terms "Aborigines."

In like manner *Phœbus*, or Apollo, was also venerated in high places, or eminences; and indeed, he is narrated to have been even *born upon* a great *mountain*—the well-known Mount *Cynthus*, in the island of Delos.

[37] Il. xvi. 234.

[38] Pharsal. lib. i. ver. 198.

[39] *Vide* Livii Hist. lib. xxi. cap. 63; and Sueton. in Vit. *Claud.* cap. 4.

[40] See, as to the *Pelasgi* in Dodona, Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 52.

[41] Vide *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 9, "Colonis sæpe mutatis, tenuere alii aliis temporibus, Aborigines, *Pelasgi*," etc.

Homer, in his hymn to that god (v. 17), describes it thus:—

. . . κραναῇ, ἐνί Δήλῳ,
Κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθον.

And there was situated for a long period a celebrated temple to Apollo Cynthius. And *Hesiod*,[42] calling the deity both *Phœbus* and *Apollo*, thus sings:—

Ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτος ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοὶ
Μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδὴν,
Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ.

I need not, however, investigate this part of the inquiry any further; nor need I mention the snow-covered mountain Parnassus (*Παρνησὸν νιφόεντα*) or the highly placed Delphi, where was the peculiar and most famed sanctuary of the God of Day.

I will only remark that the Prophet Ezekiel speaks (viii. 16), about B.C. 594, of having seen in his vision, men, even in the city of Jerusalem, "with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they *worshipped the Sun towards the east*." And King Josiah, thirty years before, as it is written in 2 Kings xxiii. 11, "took away the horses that the Kings of Judah had given to the *Sun*, at the entering in of the house of the Lord, and burned the chariots of the *Sun* with fire."

Having thus shown the prevalence, from a most early period, of *Heliosebeia*, or the worship of the *Sun*, in Palestine, as related in the Biblical narratives to which I have referred, I will now shortly allude to it in connection with some accounts mentioned by pagan classical writers.

From what I have already written, it will be seen

[42] Hesiodi Fragmenta, v. 96, edit. Robinson, *Oxon.* 1737.

that many of the Roman Emperors, and their partners on the throne, were *Heliosebeians*, or worshippers of the *Sun*, either under that direct appellation—some having even been "sacerdotes Dei *Solis*"—or under the name of *Jupiter* or *Apollo*. This adoration of the great orb of day became, in all likelihood, more *extended* among the Romans of the higher class, as well as amongst the soldiers, after they had subdued and colonized Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

On the death of Julius Cæsar, 44 B.C., a hairy star, or *comet*, became visible for seven successive days, and it was thought to be "*animam* Cæsaris *in cælum* recepti;" and for this reason, adds Suetonius (lib. i. c. 88), "simulacro ejus in vertice additur *stella*." This star is seen in the field of a coin of *Julius Cæsar*, mentioned by Admiral Smyth (Cat. No. 2, p. 3), and which he thinks was minted in B.C. 43. The obverse has the legend "Divos Julius."

Thus Horace—

> "Micat inter omnes
> *Julium sidus*, velut inter ignes
> Luna minores."

*Jupiter*, as the *Sun*, reigns supreme, but *Julius's star*, like the moon, rules the second among the celestial orbs. These lines may bear an allusion to the worship of "the sun, the moon, the *planets*, and all the host of heaven." And from this supposed *reception* of the *soul* of Julius into the heavens, as one of the shining orbs of the sky, a fresh and a greater degree of veneration might have arisen in that ancient and peculiar worship among the Roman people. And in fact it was, strictly speaking, only improving and enlarging *Astrosebeia*, 'astral worship,' in connection with the ori-

ginal and more universal adoration of the *Sun;* it is therefore certainly unnecessary to consider it apart from Heliosebeia, it being a mere branch of that worship.[43]

In observing on this view of *Astral* adoration Philo Judæus, about eighty years afterwards, writes that *stars* were accounted by some to have "life and mind;" and again that "they were *gods*,"—*τοὺς ἀστέρας θεοὺς εἶναι*,—and had "godlike and divine natures," *θείας ἢ δαιμονίας φύσεις*.[44]

St. Augustine likewise states, that the opinion was held that a *star* was a part of, or an emanation from Jupiter, or *Sol;* and that it was not inanimate, but a living being, endued with a rational and *divine spirit*.[45]

Again, Philo Judæus says of the *Sun* and other celestial bodies, that they were *independent* deities:—*τίνες ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας ὑπέλαβον εἶναι θεοὺς, αὐτοκράτορας, οἷς τὰς τῶν γινομένων ἁπάντων αἰτίας ἀνέθεσαν*.[46]

So, a fragment of Sophocles, relating to *Helius*, adds:

> Ὃν οἱ σοφοί λέγουσι γεννητὴν Θεῶν,
> Καὶ πατέρα πάντων.

The like opinion is given by Macrobius[47] in these

[43] Even on the coins of Elagabalus, the Roman Emperor, are seen a *star* and *palm-branch*—both emblems of *Sun*-worship. Some term that sovereign *Heliogabalus*, from his having been, at an early period of his life, a *priest* of the *Sun-god* at Emesa, north of Baalbec.

[44] Philon Jud. De Somn., De Mund. Incor. pp. 501, 951. See also Plato, De Legibus lib. vii.; Epinomis, p. 984, and Timæus, p. 40.

[45] St. Augustine, De Civ. Dei, lib. iv. cap. 11. And the same writer adds that the Priscillianists held, "Solem, et Lunam, et Stellas, non elementarios fulgores, sed *rationales potestates*." (De Error. Priscill. cap. 3.)

[46] Philon. Jud. De Monarch. lib. i. cap. i.

[47] Saturn, lib. i. cap. 23.

words:—"Potentiam *Solis* ad omnium potestatum summitatem referri indicant theologi; qui in sacris hoc brevissima precatione demonstrant, dicentes, "*Ηλιε παντοκράτορ, κόσμου πνεῦμα, κόσμου δύναμις, κόσμου φῶς.[48] *Solem* esse *omnia* et Orpheus testatur his versibus:—

. . . "Πάτερ πόντου, πάτερ ἀΐης,
Ἥλιε παγγενέτορ, παναΐολε, χρυσεοφεγγές."

And Menander[49] inculcates much the same, thus,—

Ἥλιε, σε γὰρ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν πρῶτον θεῶν,
Δι' ὃν θεωρεῖν ἐστι τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς.

In tracing very shortly the progress of Heliosebeia among the Roman Emperors, I will not take them all in their order, but I will point out a few more in addition to those whom I have previously mentioned.

After Julius Cæsar, and his supposed connection with the "Julium Sidus," I will name Augustus, who was evidently a worshipper of Apollo, or the *Sun*; and this fact is known from several sources.

On the obelisk,[50] which that emperor is recorded to have brought from *On*, or Heliopolis, in Egypt, and now standing in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome, the inscription retains its dedication to the *Sun*, and sets forth as follows:—

"*Augustus* . . . (Imp. XII. Cos. XI. T. Pot. XIV.) Ægypto in potestatem Populi Romani redacta *Soli* donum dedit."

[48] So Orpheus (Hymn 7, v. 18), calls the Sun, ζωῆς φῶς; and some derive Φοῖβος (*Apollo*) from φῶς βίου; whilst others say it merely signifies *bright* or *shining*:—

Σταθεντὸς δ' ἡλίου φοίβῃ φλογὶ.

(Æsch. Prom. Vinct. 22.)

[49] Apud *Clement*. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 59.

[50] See *Plin*. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 29, and Ammian. Marcell. lib. xvii.

This date agrees with the year 8 B.C., and twenty-one years after the reduction of Egypt into a Roman province. The obelisk had originally been placed in the Circus, because the Circensian Games were dedicated to the *Sun* :—

"*Solis* honore novi grati spectacula *Circi*."

Admiral Smyth (p. 6, no. vi.) describes a coin of Augustus, whose head on the obverse had a "beardless *Apollinean* aspect." Also others (nos. viii. and ix.) have the same emperor's head surrounded *with rays* —thereby signifying the *Sun's rays* :—

"Cui tempora circum
Aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,
*Solis* avi specimen."[51]

And the Emperor Julian, in his 'Cæsars,' distinctly remarks that "Octavianus resorted to *Apollo*,"—ὁ μὲν Ὀκταβιανὸς ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλονα.

I believe *no image* of *Baal* has been discovered in the ruins of his numerous shrines. But Dr. Robinson (Later Res. p. 436), describing the remains of a very ancient temple at Rakhleh, near the Antilebanon, speaks of a finely carved human face in bold relief, on a block of stone, near the south wall of the temple. He says, "At the first glance it seemed as if intended for the *Sun*, but the border does not represent rays. It may have been a *Baal* worshipped in the temple."

Tacitus[52] has recorded that the soldiers of the third legion "orientem *Solem* (ita in *Syria* mos est) salutavere;" this transpired in A.D. 69. The same circumstance appears to be that mentioned by Dion Cassius,

[51] Virgil, Æn. xii. 162.
[52] Hist. lib. iii. cap. 24.

and referred to the year "*Galb.* II. et Vinio, Coss." —which answers to A.U.C. 822.

The soldiers, whom Tacitus merely calls "Tertiani," were those of the third legion, named *Gallica*, and which had wintered in Syria. The historian Dion adds,[53] *ἀνατείλαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡλίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου στρατοπέδου τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ καλουμένου, καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ χειμάζοντος*, and he then says, *ἀσπασαμένων αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν*, they saluted him as they were wont.

About A.D. 274, the Emperor Aurelian had erected a splendid temple to the *Sun* on the Quirinal. This was the year after his destruction of Palmyra and triumph over the celebrated Zenobia. In that temple, Gibbon[54] writes, "he placed the images of *Belus* (Baal) and of the *Sun*, which he had brought from Palmyra. His mother had been an inferior priestess in a chapel of the *Sun;* and his devotion to that deity appears in his letters, and on his medals."

The same divinity was the "invincible guide and protector" of the Emperor Constantine, before the year of our Lord 331, when he commanded the heathen temples to be closed; and our great historian tells us, that the "devotion of Constantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the *Sun*, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleased to be represented with the symbols of the God of Light and Poetry."[55]

Indeed, ten years before (A.D. 321) Constantine ordered the strict observance of *Sunday*, calling it then after his patron god, *Solis* dies; and he moreover placed upon his coins the legend, "*Sol* Invictus." The Emperor Julian's early Christianity, which is ad-

[53] *Dionis* Hist. Rom. vol. ii. lib. 65, cap. 14.

[54] Hist. chap. xi.

[55] Gibbon, Hist. chap. xx.

mitted to have been partly feigned,[56] must have been always *mixed* with paganism, or at all events with Heliosebeia; for he expressly calls himself an "attendant on the Sovereign *Sun*."[57] And he says, "From his *childhood*, there was innate in him a vehement desire of the rays of that God. And that the ethereal light so wholly bewitched his mind, even when a *little boy*, that he not only tried to look intently upon it, but frequently went out at night, when the firmament was cloudless and serene, and surveyed with such intense admiration the celestial splendours, that at once abandoning everything, he was no longer conscious if any person spoke to him, nor was he minding what occurred to himself." And further, that he "recognized the *Sun*, with perfect hope, to be his God and propitious guide."[58]

Hence it will be seen that the term of "Apostate," so lavishly bestowed on him by the Christian ecclesiastical writers, could hardly have been *strictly applicable*, because he could never have been a *sincere* Christian, in whom so intense an adoration of the *Sun*, as a *sovereign* or deity, existed from his *earliest* years,[59]

[56] *Vide* Socratis Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 1.

[57] Juliani 'Hymnus in Regem Solem' (Ὕμνος εἰς τὸν Βασιλέα Ἥλιον). Καὶ γὰρ εἰμι τοῦ βασιλέως ὀπαδὸς Ἡλίου.... Ἐντέτηκε μοι, δεινὸς ἐκ παίδων τῶν αὐγῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πόθος· καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς οὕτω δὴ τὸ αἰθέριον ἐκ παιδαρίου κομιδῇ τὴν διανοίαν ἐξιστάμην· ὥς τε οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸν μόνον ἀτενὲς ὁρᾷν ἐπεθύμουν· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ ποτε νύκτωρ ἀνεφέλου καὶ καθαρᾶς αἰθρίας οὔσης προέλθοιμι, πάντα ἀθρόως ἀφεὶς τοῖς οὐρανίοις προσείχον κάλλεσι· καὶ οὐκέτι ξυνιεὶς οὐδὲν εἴ τις λέγοι τι πρὸς με, οὔτε ἐμαυτῷ ὅ τι πράττοι μοι προσέχων.—*Juliani Imperatoris Opera.* Paris, 1583.

[58] Μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος, ἡγεμόνα Θεὸν εὐμενῆ.—*Juliani Imp. 'Cæsares.'*

[59] Socrates says of Julian, that he Χριστιανὸς γὰρ ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς.—

and which continued to his latest period of existence.

This enlightened and distinguished man, whose mind was, in literature at least, highly cultivated, presents a most remarkable example of one, who was at the same time blind to the beauty and excellence of the Gospel tenets, and to the light promised to those who faithfully followed them. And indeed, it is scarcely to be believed that one of such intelligence, who lived more than three and a half centuries after the birth of the *True Light*, should have persisted in following the worship of the mere *Light of Day*, the very splendid *Created Light*, in preference to its more Luminous and *Glorious Creator*—the *One Light* that shineth effectually, even to those that "sit in darkness and in the shadow of death."

But Heliosebeia, and every other branch of pagan worship, with their sacred rites, altars, temples, idols, and groves, received, about twenty years after the death of Julian, a very powerful check. All these "abominations" were severely treated by Theodosius the Great in his first edict, or decree, against paganism, about A.D. 380. Zosimus records, that "the seats of the gods were everywhere besieged,"—*τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἕδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν καὶ χώραν*,[60]—and, that

(Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 1). This seems scarcely consistent with Julian's own account of himself when *a boy*, as cited in the text. The imperial author mentions, towards the end of his Hymn, a most ancient sanctuary of the *Sun* at *Edessa*, *οἱ τὴν Ἔδεσσαν οἰκοῦντες ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἡλίου χωρίον*. *Edessa* was situate in northern Mesopotamia; but we know that Emesa, or *Emessa*, in Syria, was famed for its superb *Sun-temple*; and it is therefore likely that ΕΔΕΣΣΑ is an error for ΕΜΕΣΣΑ.

[60] Zosimi Hist. lib. iv. cap. 33, and cap. 59.

in the year 385, "Cynegius was sent to forbid the worship of the heathen gods and to shut up the temples, not only in Alexandria, but also throughout Egypt," the very *land* of the *Gods*.

To carry out more effectually the decree, the same emperor withdrew all assistance and allowances which had been usually granted towards the expenses of sacrifices. And, as Theodosius was the last Roman emperor who was the *sole* sovereign of the *whole world*, "orbis terrarum," he had unbounded authority, and he exerted it to the utmost in his last edict, A.D. 390, in decisively and for ever overthrowing the worship of the heathen deities.

Macrobius particularly describes the *Sun-worship* of Syria, and gives full details of how it was introduced and practised in Heliopolis, now *Baalbec*.

Having remarked, that "the Syrians celebrate the *Sun* by the name of *Jupiter*, whom they term *Zeus Heliopolites*, with the greatest ceremonies in the city, which is called Heliopolis," he adds more distinctly the history of this local deity in these words:—"Ejus *Dei simulacrum* sumptum est de oppido *Ægypti*, quod et ipsum *Heliopolis* appellatur, regnante apud Ægyptios Senemure, seu idem Senepos nomine fuit: perlatumque est primum in eam per Opiam legatum Deleboris regis Assyriorum, sacerdotesque Egyptios, quorum princeps fuit Partemetis; diuque habitum apud Assyrios postea Heliopolim commigravit. Cur ita factum, quaque ratione *Ægypto* profectum in hæc loca ubi nunc est postea venerit, rituque Assyrio magis quam Ægyptio colatur dicere supersedi, quia ad præsentem non attinet causam. Hunc vero *eumdem Jovem Solemque* esse cum ex ipso sacrorum ritu, tum ex habitu dinoscitur.

*Simulacrum* enim aureum specie imberbi instat dextra elevata cum flagro in aurigæ modum, læva tenet *fulmen*[61] et *spicas*, quæ cuncta *Jovis Solisque* consociatam potentiam monstrant." "Vehitur enim *simulacrum* Dei Heliopolitani ferculo, uti vehuntur in pompa ludorum Circensium deorum simulacra; et subeunt plerumque provinciæ proceres raso capite longi temporis castimonia puri, ferunturque divino spiritu, non suo arbitrio, sed quo deus propellit vehentes."[62]

Lucian also states, that "the Phœnicians had a great and an ancient *image*, not an Assyrian, but an *Egyptian* one, which came from *Heliopolis* to Phœnicia." *Ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Φοίνικες ἱρόν, οὐκ Ἀσσύριον, ἀλλ' Αἰγύπτιον, τὸ ἐξ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν Φοινίκην ἀπίκετο. Ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ ὄπωπα, μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἐστι.*[63]

This "City of the Sun," or *Heliopolis*, here alluded to, is that very ancient city of *Egypt* called "On" in Genesis (xli. 45), and which I have before mentioned. It was situated nearly three hours to the north-east of Cairo, at or close to the place now named *El Matarieh*. Its ruins, says a recent traveller[64] in that country, "consist of a wide enclosure of earthen mounds, partly planted with gardens; there, in the midst of garden shrubs, the solitary *obelisk* is still standing which stood in front of the temple, then in company with *another*,[65] whose base alone now remains. There it

[61] The thunder, or lightning, of course represents *Jupiter;* and the ears of corn, the *Sun*, or *Baal:* the various fruits, as apples, pomegranates, figs, etc.,—the emblems of fertility, increase, and plenty,—were the peculiar attributes of *Baal*.

[62] Macrobii Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 23.

[63] Luciani 'De Syrâ Deâ,' s. 5.

[64] Dr. Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 34 introd., edit. 2.

[65] Two obelisks are recorded to have been transported from On

has stood for nearly four thousand years, and it is the *oldest* known in Egypt."

And Dr. Lepsius[66] states, that King *Sesortesen* I., who is named by others *Osirtasen*, raised the obelisk, which is still erect at the ruins of On, about B.C. 2300.

Bishop Tomlinson, in translating the hieroglyphics on the obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo, gives the titles or formulæ of the deity as closely agreeing with those already noticed from the Rosetta stone. He says the inscriptions run thus:—"The good God, the *Pharaoh*, guardian of Justice, approved of the *Sun*, the Son of the *Sun*, giving life like the *Sun*."[67]

And again, "the King, Lord of the World, Lord of the *Eye of the Sun*, Son of the *Sun*, being of his race, and loving him."

The hawk-headed deity is frequently represented; which is *Hor-phra*, or *Hor-rê*, or *Horus Sol*, the Apollo of the Greeks—*Ἀπόλλων κρατερὸς*, Apollo, or Horus, the powerful;[68] *Phra* being merely the local name of the *Sun* as used at Memphis. According to Sir G. Wilkinson, "the ancient Egyptian name of Heliopolis was in hieroglyphics *Re-ei*, or *Ei-rê*, meaning *House of the Sun*,"[69] which is exactly equivalent to the Hebrew *Beth-shemesh*, "of Egypt" (Jerem. xliii. 13, about 588 B.C.); but in Coptic it is termed by its earlier name, *On*, as it is in the Septuagint and English versions. That city was always much frequented by Jews, or Israelites.

to Rome; one is now in the Piazza del Popolo, and the other at the Lateran.

[66] 'Letters,' let. iii. p. 46, by Horner, 1853.

[67] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. Vol. I. (2nd Ser.) pp. 178, 180.

[68] *Ibid.* pp. 179, 185.

[69] Wilkinson's Handbook, p. 156.

Dr. Stanley, mentioning *Ré*, *Ra*, or *Phra*, *i. e.* the *Sun*, adds, "this was not only the especial deity of the *Pharaohs* (which means, 'children of the *Sun*'), but he was the god of Heliopolis."[70]

And so we find that Joseph married the daughter of Poti-*pherah*, the Priest of On, or of the *Sun*, at Heliopolis. *Poti-pherah* itself is considered to be Πετε φρη in Coptic, which signifies 'belonging to the *Sun*'—Soli proprius. And there, too, it is very reasonably thought that Moses himself had learned "all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts vii. 22). But in the Vatican and Alexandrine codices of the Septuagint, the eleventh verse of the first chapter of Exodus adds, after Ῥαμεσσῆ, —καὶ Ὼν, ἥ ἐστιν Ἡλιούπολις; that is to say, "the Israelites built for Pharaoh . . . *Rameses*, and *On*, which is Heliopolis." The first of these places our English Bible renders *Raamses*, but the Greek more correctly *Rameses*, which means '*Solis* filius,' Son of the *Sun*. The Hebrew word is רעמסס. And since both *Rameses* and *On* had existed long before (Gen. xli. 45, and xlvii. 1), thé Israelites did not strictly "build them;" but they most probably built or restored their fortifications, and so enlarged or strengthened them "for Pharaoh."

Further, Sir G. Wilkinson relates, that "a stone gateway had been found" at the ruins of On, upon "which the name of Thothmes III. occurs, and on it is mentioned the god *Ré* (*i. e.* the god *Sun*), who is called "the Lord of the Temple."[71]

Herodotus testifies that there was a sacred assembly

[70] Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' 2nd edit. p. 51, introd.

[71] Wilkinson's Handbook, p. 156.

to the worship of the *Sun* at Heliopolis, in Egypt (ii. 59); and Strabo speaks of the ancient *temple of the Sun* at the same place.[72]

Again, from the centre column (L.) of the hieroglyphic inscription on the obelisk Del Popolo, Bishop Tomlinson[73] renders a part thus :—"The King Pharaoh, establisher of justice, fills Heliopolis with *obelisks* to illustrate *with* (their) *rays* the temple of the *Sun*."

Indeed, an obelisk was accounted an emblem of the Sun; its shape having been taken from a *ray* of that celestial luminary.[74] Pliny thus writes :—"trabes, seu obeliscos, *Solis* numini sacratos. *Radiorum* ejus argumentum *in effigie* est, et ita significatur nomine Ægyptio."[75]

Hence it is clear that the city of *On*, or *Aun*, was the most ancient and most renowned sanctuary of the Sun-god, and where Heliosebeia in Egypt was most devotedly followed; although, with the Egyptian people in general, the *Sun* was saluted as a principal and eternal divinity.[76]

Sir G. Wilkinson states that "the worship of Rê," or Ra, Phrê, Phra, or Phrah, as he is termed at Mem-

[72] Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Ἡλίου πόλις, ἐπὶ χώματος ἀξιολόγου κειμένη, τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσα τοῦ Ἡλίου.—*Strab. Geog.* lib. xvii. cap. 1.

[73] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. Vol. I. (2nd Ser.) p. 184.

[74] See a beautiful profile of a King *Ptolemy* cut on topaz, plate 90, Worlidge's 'Antique Gems.' It is remarkable from having the crown on the head composed of ten to twelve different-sized *obelisks*, in lieu of rays. This portrait, being that of a youth, "imberbis juvenis," is most likely represented *after Apollo*, with his crown of *rays*.

[75] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 14, and Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xvii. cap. 4.

[76] Confer Diodor. Sic. lib. i. cap. 11.

phis, who was the physical *Sun*, or Helius, of the Greeks, "appears to have been *universal* throughout Egypt." "The hawk and globe, emblems of the *sun*, are placed over the banners or the figures of the kings in the sculptures to denote the title" of *Phrah*.

"The god *Ré*" was sometimes represented "under the form of a *hawk*, his emblem; Porphyry says, 'the *hawk* was dedicated to the *Sun*, being the symbol of light and spirit,' because of the quickness of its motion, and its ascent to the higher regions of the air. Horapollo thinks it was chosen as a type of that luminary, 'from its being able to look more intently towards its rays than any other bird,' (except the *eagle*); whence, also, under the form of a *hawk*, they depicted the *Sun* as the Lord of Vision" (Horapoll. i. 6).[77]

"Plutarch (de Isid. s. 32), Clemens (Strom. v. p. 159), and others, agree in considering the *hawk* the emblem of the *Deity;* and the sculptures clearly indicate the *god* to whom it was particularly sacred to be *Ré*, or the *Sun*."

And "the *hawk* was especially known as the type of the *Sun*, and worshipped at Heliopolis (*On*) as the *sacred bird*, and representative of (*Ré*) the deity of the place."[78]

So, with the Greeks and Romans, the *eagle* was the emblem of Zeus, or Jupiter; and the *hawk* or eagle that of the Sun, Helius, or Sol.

And there is every "reason to believe that the god *Ré* corresponded to the Syrian *Baal*, a name implying 'lord,' which was given *par excellence* to the

[77] Wilkinson, 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians' (2nd series), vol. i. pp. 287, 295.

[78] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 205–7.

*Sun;* and the same idea of peculiar sovereignty vested in that deity may have led the Egyptians to have taken from Rê (*Phrah*), the regal title of their kings. *Heliopolis* in Syria still retains the name of *Baalbec*, 'the City of the (Lord or) *Sun*.'"[79]

Again, *Amun*, another of the great gods, "was considered by the Greeks the same as *Jupiter*, in consequence of his having the title 'King of the Gods;' and under the name *Amun-rê*, he was the intellectual Sun, distinct from *Rê*, the physical orb. This union of *Amun* and *Rê* cannot fail to call to mind the *Jupiter Belus* of the Assyrians; *Baal*, or *Belus*, being the *Sun*."[80]

From these accounts it will be evident that great similarity existed between the Heliosebeia, as practised in Egypt, and that which prevailed from the earliest times in Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine.

Of this peculiar worship I have only taken a very brief survey, intending, at a future opportunity, to investigate it more fully, and to consider with it other species or branches of Heliosebeia, namely, the adoration of the *Moon* as the Queen of Heaven, Astaroth, or Astarte, which may be properly termed *Selenosebeia* (*Σεληνοσέβεια*), and the worship of the *stars*, Astrosebeia, "or any of the host of heaven;"[81] and, likewise, the cognate *worship of fire*, Pyrosebeia, or of *Vulcan*, as the god of *Fire*.[82]

The offering of oblations or sacred rites to the

[79] Wilkinson, 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians' (2nd series), vol. i. p. 299.

[80] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 246.

[81] See Deut. xvii. 3; Judges ii. 13; 2 Kings xxiii. 5; Jerem. xliv. 17, etc.

[82] Jul. Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. cap. 21, says of the Germans, "Deorum numero ducunt Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam."—

*Moon* was most probably effected in the evening or at night; that to the *stars* early in the morning, as to Lucifer, or in the evening to Hesperus; but adoration and prayers to the *Sun* were performed *three times* a day, viz. at sunrise, midday (noon), and at sunset. So we find in the Psalms of David allusions to these profane customs, or "abominations," which the chosen people of God at times were wont to observe, and disobediently to follow. The inspired Psalmist, possibly with a view of inducing the disobedient Israelites to forsake their devotedness to the idols of Baal, adopted their usual custom of praying *thrice* a day,[83] for he expressly says, in Psalm lv. 17, "Evening, and morning, and at noon, will I pray, and cry aloud." Again, David begins Psalm cxxi. thus, "I will lift up mine eyes *unto the hills*, from whence cometh my help." The worshippers of Baal, or the Sun, or of Jupiter, or of Apollo, as I have before shown, erected their altars, and sacrificed to their gods, upon the *tops of hills*, from whence, as they conceived, their good fortune or *help* was derived; with that allusion probably, as well as with more direct reference to *Mount Zion* and *Mount Moriah* at Jerusalem, the Psalmist

Vestiges of this worship seem still traceable in Germany. Dr. Brugsch, in his recent lecture 'On the Affinity between Germans and Persians,' states, "Up to this day, the greatest festival of the Persians is the *Sun*-festival, held in the spring. Surrounded by all the nobles of his empire, the Shah of Persia shows himself on that occasion to his people; in all the bazaars shine lights and lamps; and everything reminds one of the German Easter and St. John's days, with their *fires* on the *heights* of hills and mountains. In the same way, both natives possess the notion of the ordeal of *fire*." See 'Parthenon,' no. 17, p. 527.

[83] Compare 1 Kings xviii. 26, 27, 29.

is there to be understood. And upon the latter mountain, or "upon one of the *mountains*," in the land of Moriah,[84] which the Lord told Abraham of, Isaac was offered for a burnt offering: and before that time, nearly half a century, Abraham had builded an altar unto the Lord on "a mountain," supposed to have been *Mount* Ephraim, in B.C. 1921.

Other allusions to the worship of "any of the host of heaven" need not be further dwelt upon; but Dr. Stanley, mentioning the great temple of Ipsambul, which, like that at On, was dedicated to Ra, or the Sun, notices the well-known Egyptian *Pterosphere* (πτεροσφαίρα), which he terms "an emblem of true monotheism." He describes it as "a thousand times repeated; always impressive and always beautiful; chiefly on the roof and cornice, like the Cherubim in the Holy of Holies; the *globe*, with its wide-spread *wings* of azure blue, of the all-embracing sky: 'under the shadow of thy *wings* shall be my refuge.'"[85]

This *winged sphere*, emblematic of the *Sun*, is exceedingly common in Egyptian sculptures and hieroglyphics, and is sometimes accompanied with a *winged star*, both of which *winged* heavenly *orbs* are well represented, with a noble-crested *hawk*, also the emblem of the *Sun*, or Helius, upon an onyx gem described by Winckelmann,[86] and figured no. 169, plate iii. Tassie's Catalogue, by Raspe.

[84] The Septuagint version translates "in the land of *Moriah*"—'in the *hill* country'—εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλὴν, Gen. xxii. 2.

[85] Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 53, introd.

[86] The original is in the Prussian Cabinet; and, according to Winckelmann (Cat. No. 24), it is "an Egyptian engraving very finely executed."

This antique and beautiful gem is of much interest, as presenting so marked a connection with Egyptian Heliosebeia.

This *Pterosphere* appears to be variously designed, both in the form of the wings and in the distribution of their feathers and colours.[87]

The Prophet Malachi, about 397 B.C., has been supposed to allude to this *winged sphere*, or disk, where he says, iv. 2, "the *Sun* of Righteousness shall arise with *healing*[88] in his *wings;*" and it is somewhat remarkable, that at the expiration of the *same number* of years *after* the birth of that *New Sun*, viz. about A.D. 397, soon after the final edict issued by Theodosius against all pagan worship, the altars of Baal, and of all the heavenly host, had been effectually overthrown, and

[87] Refer, among others, to one from a stele at Heliopolis (*On*), Bl. 29, Abth. iii., 'Denkmäler aus Aegypten,' von R. Lepsius: also one from the small temple of Medinet-Habou, Bl. 7 and Bl. 72, from a stele at Thebes, Abth. iii. And for a more highly finished one, no. 28, from an ancient gateway of King Thothmes-Mœris at Ombos, tom. iii. Rosellini's 'Monumenti dell' Egitto.' Compare likewise Sir R. K. Porter's 'Travels,' vol. i. pl. 50; and Layard's 'Second Expedition,' p. 211, a "winged globe" from the rock sculptures at Bavian, in Assyria; and pl. 39 A from Nimroud, in Layard's 'Monuments of Nineveh.' And see, especially for a like design, pl. 75, Wilkinson's 'Manners and Customs,' second series, supplement, plates, of the mitred vulture, or *crested hawk*, bearing in his claws *two* feathered *ornaments*, as compared with the *crested eagles*, at Baalbec and Palmyra, already described at p. 54; the first of which holds the *caduceus*, and the last, in the same manner, *two palm-branches*, in its talons.

[88] The *Pterosphere* is very often figured with *two serpents* around the disk. These reptiles, being the attributes of Æsculapius, were symbolical of *health*, or of *benefits* derivable from *medicine*. In fact, Æsculapius was early worshipped at Epidaurus in the form of a *serpent*. In Egypt the *serpent* was assigned to the *Sun* or *Ré;* it

Δύσετο τ' Ἥλιος, σκιόωντο τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαὶ,

"*That Sun* went down, and all the ways (of his worship) were overshadowed."

Or, since Phœbus (*Apollo*) was identical with *Helius*, the following lines may perhaps better declare the farewell and *final* parting with the Heliosebeian temples, sacrifices, and images:—

Καὶ σὺ, Φοῖβ' ἄναξ Ἀγυιεῦ, καὶ μέλαθρα χαίρετε,
Ἡλικές θ' οἱ' μοι, θεῶν τε δεξίμηλ' ἀγάλματα.[89]

"Thou too, O *Phœbus*, mighty king, who guard'st
These ways; ye palaces, my youthful comrades,
*Farewell;* and, O ye statues of the Gods,
Drench'd with the blood of victims."

Hence *the natural Sun*, or solar orb, *ceased* to be a *god*, or an object of adoration, among the civilized nations of the earth.

"*The Sun* shall be *no more* thy light by day; neither for brightness shall *the Moon* give light unto thee; but *the Lord* shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and *thy God* thy glory. *Thy Sun* shall *no more go down;* neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the *Lord* shall be *thine everlasting light.*"[90]

But THE SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS[91] has

was named *Uræus* from ⲟⲩⲣⲟ, Coptic for *royal*, which is in Greek βασιλισκὸς, and so *basilisk*.

[89] Eurip. 'Phœnissæ,' v. 640; the translation from Wodhull.

[90] Isaiah lx. 19, 20.

[91] From Bishop Tomlinson's translations (Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. Vol. I. 2nd Series, p. 182) of the hieroglyphics on the Flaminian, or *Del Popolo*, obelisk, it will be seen that the Egyptian god or king is styled, "The *Pharaoh*, the Guardian of Justice," or "the Establisher of Justice, the Son of the *Sun*," etc. And St. Augustine writes (ii. in Psal. xxv. cap. 3), "Est noster *Sol* justitiæ veritas *Christus*."

arisen, and He is called THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS; for this "Light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon" the nations; "and there shall be no night" to those who "serve Him;[92] and they need *no* light of the *Sun;* for the Lord God giveth them *light:* and they shall reign for ever and ever."[93]

[92] Jesus said (St. John viii. 12), "I am the *Light* of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the *light of life.*"

[93] Jerem. xxiii. 6; Isaiah lx. 1; and Rev. xxii. 3, 5.

## XI.—A SLIGHT MISTAKE OF LORD MACAULAY.

BY THE REV. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT.

(Read April 9th, 1862.)

THE last moments of an English king are not without interest, but I have no intention of relating last words in the spirit of M. Deslandes or M. Colombey, when I propose to clear up an inaccuracy in the narrative of the death of Charles II., by Lord Macaulay, as it is a very curious instance of the consequences of a slight mistake in deciphering an indistinct manuscript or printed paper, and in attempting to explain initials without sufficient caution.

I have carefully consulted all the accredited historians and writers who have alluded to the subject,—Burnet, Macpherson, Evelyn, Lingard, Hume, C. Knight's History of England, Dalrymple, Ellis's Letters, State Tracts, etc.,—and shall, for the purpose of clearing the way to an elucidation of the error, give a summary of their substance very briefly.

Evelyn writes to this effect:—"I went to London, hearing his Majesty had been the Monday before, 2 Feb., surprised in his bedchamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if Dr. King had not been accidentally present to let him blood, his Majesty had certainly died

that moment. . . . On Thursday hopes of recovery were signified in the public Gazette; but that day, about noone, the physitians thought him feaverish. . . . He gave up the ghost at half an hour after eleven in the morning, being the 6th of February, 1685. . . . Those who assisted his Majesty's devotions were the Abp. of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, but more especially Dr. Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells. It is sayd they exceedingly urged the receiving the Holy Sacrament, but his Majesty told them he would consider of it, which he did so long till it was too late. Others whispered that the bishops and lords, except the Earls of Bath and Feversham, being ordered to withdraw the night before, Hurlston the priest had presumed to administer the Popish offices."

Dr. Lingard, on the authority of Barillon, says that the Duke of York "ordered all present to quit the room, except the Earl of Bath, lord of the bedchamber, and the Earl of Feversham, captain of the guard, whose attendance he thought necessary to prevent any sinister reports, and then introduced Huddleston, with the words, 'Sir, this worthy man once saved your life, he now comes to save your soul.'"

Burnet says that "the Earls of Bath and Feversham only were present;" while Macpherson mentions, on the authority of a manuscript in his possession, "the Earl of Bath, and Trevannion, a captain in the Guards." The "Memoirs of James II.," published by that author, also mention these names, which were in all likelihood in the manuscript he quoted. A third person appears on the scene: "the Duke of York proposed sending for a priest to him (Charles II.) to Count Castel Melhor."

Barillon, in his dispatch of Feb. 18, 1685, given by Dalrymple, says that "the Duke perceived the Earl of Castel Melhor, who with warmth embraced the proposal made him; . . . as the time pressed, he went where the Queen's priests were, and found amongst them one Hudelston, a Scotchman. . . . The Duke said aloud, 'The King wills that everybody should retire except the Earls of Bath and Feversham;' the first was lord of the bedchamber, and the other was in waiting." Huddleston himself, in his brief account, mentions no names, but says that he was summoned "between 7 and 8 a clock in the evening, upon Thursday, the fifth of February."

All so far is simple enough, with the exception that Trevanion, a captain in the Guards, is mentioned as an additional witness by some of the authorities; but Lord Macaulay has complicated the matter by a note to his description of the king's last hours. "I have seen in the British Museum," he writes, "and also in the Library of the Royal Institution, a curious broadside, containing an account of the death of Charles. The author was evidently a zealous Roman Catholic, and must have had access to good sources of information. I strongly suspect that he had been in communication, directly or indirectly, with James himself. No name is given at length, but the initials are perfectly intelligible except in one place. It is said that the Duke of York was reminded of the duty which he owed to his brother by P. M. A. C. F. I must own myself quite unable to decipher the last five letters."

This broadside was printed in the "'Phœnix,' a revival of scarce and valuable pieces, being a collection of manuscripts and printed tracts nowhere to be

found but in the closets of the curious, by a gentleman who has made it his business to search after such pieces for twenty years past," published in 1727. Naturally enough, the difficulty was no sooner announced than it provoked ingenious speculations to achieve its solution. The mysterious letters stood, it was asserted, for "Père Mansuète, a Capuchin Friar," the confessor of the Duke of York, who urged his patron to take care of the king's soul. Then another suggestion, perhaps somewhat less acute, ran to the effect that the initials might mean "in the afternoon a confidential friend," or, perhaps, "Patrick Maginn, a Carmelite Friar," while P. and B. were assumed to indicate the Lords Petre and Bristol.

It so happened that some time since a manuscript volume belonging to Mr. Andrew Fountaine, of Narford Hall, in the county of Norfolk, was placed, by a relative of that gentleman, in my hands. It contained the entry which I subjoin, besides a large collection of letters relative to the reign of James II., addressed by Bishop Smalridge, Dr. Charlett—Master of University College, Oxford—Bishop Stratford, and other correspondents, to its former owner, Mr. James Harrington, of whom full particulars will be found in Chalmers's 'Biographical Dictionary.'

"A paper is published w$^{thout}$ autority, Relating y$^{e}$ maner of y$^{e}$ Death of y$^{e}$ late King.

"On Munday, Feb. 2, He fell into an Apoplexy, & by loss of 6 ounces of Blood and some other Remedies he seemed somew$^{t}$ Recovered, But at 12 on Thursday The Physicians despaired of his health & so acquaintd y$^{e}$ Counsell. At 1 P.M. P. C. F. came to y$^{e}$ D. and told him this was y$^{e}$ time to take care of his Brother's soul. He went to him & upo.

his desire sent for Huddlesto'. The K. saying y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ Father w$^{ch}$ savd him in y$^{e}$ tree would now save his soul. Then y$^{e}$ Nobles all Departed, but y$^{e}$ D. orderd P. F. and B. to stay, and w$^{n}$ Huddleston came The K. s$^{d}$ wt good Planet watches over one O L$^{d}$ my exile, my Fight at Worcester, my Safety there by the help of this Good Father, my Dangers in y$^{e}$ late Conspiracy, and y$^{t}$ now This Good fa. should be present to save my soul, be sure L$^{d}$ Thou hast created him for my Good. Y$^{n}$ after a long discourse H. askd if he w$^{d}$ receive. He s$^{d}$ Yes, if he were worthy: & so he receivd & then had extreme unction. Then y$^{e}$ nobles returnd & B$^{p}$ askd him whether he w$^{d}$ receive. He answerd no. The next Day at 12 he dyed."

From this paper it appears that besides Lord Feversham and Lord Bath, the latter of whom was groom of the stole, there was a third witness, who is not mentioned by Lord Macaulay, indicated under the initial P. This nobleman was, in all probability, Henry Mordaunt, second Lord Peterborough, who, according to Burnet, met Dr. King in Whitehall, and conversed with him about the King's dangerous state of health, immediately before Charles II. was struck with apoplexy. He had greatly distinguished himself by his courage at Newbury, and all his estates were sequestered after the failure of his chivalrous plot in concert with Lord Holland; he was a privy councillor, and in 1689 was threatened with impeachment, on the ground that he had become reconciled to the Church of Rome. The Earl of Feversham was brother of the Duke de Duras, and Marquis of Blanquefort: his first English peerage was conferred upon him as a reward for his gallantry in the great naval battle of 1665, fought with the French fleet. He was also captain of the guard, under the Duke of York.

The Conde de Castelmelhor, indicated by the initial

C., was the old and faithful friend of Catherine of Braganza, in whose service he was employed as chief groom of her chamber. He had taken refuge in England after incurring the ill-will of the reigning sovereign of Portugal, Don Pedro, owing to his fidelity to his imbecile patron, Don Alphonso VI., on whose behalf he successfully intrigued to remove the Queen Regent from her government. He was afterwards employed in arranging the removal of Queen Catherine from Somerset House.

John Granville, son of the gallant Sir Bevil, who fell in the battle of Lansdowne, near Bath, was severely wounded at Newbury, and acted as gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles II., whom he followed in his exile, and whose restoration he was mainly instrumental in procuring, by his successful negotiation with his kinsman General Monk. He was created Earl of Bath, for his services and sufferings in the royal cause. The bishop, it is almost superfluous to add, was Dr. Ken, of Bath and Wells.

The mystery of the initials misread by Lord Macaulay disappears when we read that at "one P.M. Peterborough, Castelmelhor, and Feversham" came to the Duke.

# XII.—TRANSLATION OF AN INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read January 8th, 1862.)

THIS inscription is from a clay cylinder, found at Babylon, and now in the possession of Sir T. Phillipps, Bart., of Middle Hill. The cuneiform text was admirably copied in facsimile by Bellino, many years ago; and the engraving of this on a copper-plate, by the care of Grotefend, is equally excellent. More recently, it has been lithographed in larger and plainer characters in Pl. 65 of the New Volume of Inscriptions, published by the Trustees of the British Museum, under the skilful direction of Sir H. Rawlinson.

This inscription is one of the more difficult of its class. There are many unusual words; and several passages still await interpretation. I have divided it into portions of convenient length, in order that the explanatory notes may be more easily referred to. I have placed the original and the translation in opposite columns.

## *Column I.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Line 1. Nabiu-kudur-ussur sar misharim | Nebuchadnezzar, the victorious king, |
| 2. ribitu kinu, muttaru tebshati | the glorious ruler, the restorer of public works, |
| 3. mustishir bahulati Bel, Shemesh, u Marduk | the director of the workmen of Bel, the Sun, and Marduk, |
| 4. mustalam akhits nimiki, mustihu baladam, | the perfecter of . . ., the dispenser of plenty, |
| 5. nadam la mupparku, | the hero never conquered, |
| 6. zanin beth-shaggathu u beth-zida | the repairer of the temples and holy places, |
| 7. tar Nabiu-pal-ussur sar Babilu anaku. | the son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon: I am he. |

*Observations.*

*Misharim*, victorious. This sense is determined by the phrase *misharish duduku*, he went forth victoriously.

*Ribitu* should perhaps be pronounced *rihu*.

*Kinu* means sometimes *noble*, *glorious*, and sometimes *first*, *eldest*.

*Muttaru*, a restorer, from root *tar*, to restore. *Wetar* or *utar*, I restored, is very frequent.

*Tebshati* may be same as *ebshat*, works. It occurs in the Bellino inscription, l. 43. Tebshid mat Kaldi, mat Aramu, etc.

*Mustishir* is used often for *governor*. Root, *sutishur*, government.

*Bahulati* may be for *bakhulati*, generally active young men; sometimes soldiers.

*Mustalam*, the perfecter; participle of *t* conjugation of *salam*, Chald. שלם, absolvit, perfecit (opus), Ges. 1014; whence part. pass. שלים, *salim*, perfectus (Ezra v. 16). The etymology of Jerusalem (*Ursalimma* in

Assyrian) has never been settled in a manner quite satisfactory. Perhaps it meant the perfect city, *Ursalim*. A city is *Ar*, *Ir*, and sometimes *Ur* in Assyrian, עיר in Hebrew. Or else, *mustalam* may be, he who makes prosperous (from another sense of שלם), and *Ursalimma* may mean City of Prosperity. Its *founders* could hardly have *intended* to call it City of Salvation.

*Mustihu* or *mustikhu*, partic. of שׁטח, *shatakh*, expandit (Ges. 996). In Job, it is to enlarge the people's territory, and so make them prosperous. In Psalm lxxxviii. 10, expandit (*brachia*). The word occurs several times in the great E. I. H. inscription in both these senses.

*Baladam*. This word occurs frequently and variously written, as *balatha* and *malatha*; always meaning *abundance*. It is doubtless the Heb. *malatha*, plenty.

*Nadam*, hero; elsewhere *nada*, *nadu*, *nahidu*.

The final *m* is merely euphonious in this and many other words, interchanging with *u* and *v*. Hence the name of king Nabo-nahid.

*Mupparku*, part. of *parak* פרך, to break. So the Latins say, 'copiæ *fractæ*.'

*Babilu*. The last syllable is sometimes *lu*, but oftener *lam*. By reading *Babilam* we obtain the name which the Greeks pronounced *Βαβυλων*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. Ninu Marduk bel rabu ana bellut mada, | The favour of Marduk the great Lord, unto great royalty |
| 9. issha annima, | raised me; |
| 10. nishat rapshat ana ribituti itinam. | (and) gave to me the supreme power over chiefs and kings. |

*Issha*, from נשׂא, *nasha*, to raise. Initial *n* is often rejected in the tenses, as *issiku*, they kissed, from *nassik*, to kiss. It is also rejected in Hebrew verbs. Line

10 means literally, "He gave to me kings, to rule over them." Compare the inscription of Sennacherib (Brit. Mus. pl. 37, l. 15), gimri *nishat reshdu* weshaknis shabua—all the kings I forced to bow down as my slaves (where the parallel passage on the bull has *malki sha kiprati*, kings of the countries).

*Nishat reshdu* are literally *chief men* or *foremost men: nishat rapshat*, very great men.

It is to be observed that in this inscription of Nebuchadnezzar the word *nishat* is used in two very different senses, viz. (1) *Men:* the same as the more usual *nisi*, Syr. ܢܫ, as בר נש, filius hominis, *i. e.* homo, and בני נשא, homines (see Schaaf's Lex.). (2) Wonders, marvels, or conspicuous objects: from *nish*, Heb. נס, signum, etc.

*Ribituti* should perhaps be pronounced *rihuti*.

*Itinam*, he gave to me. Other tenses are, *attan*, I gave; *iddina*, he gave; *iddinu*, they gave. From Heb. נתן, *natan*, to give. Fut. *ittan*. Imperat. *tan*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 11. Ana Marduk ilu bani-ya palkhish lu-takku: | Unto Marduk, the god my Creator, I humbled myself in worship. |
| 12. Ana shadam sirdi-su lu-kanish kishadam. | Before the curtain of his sanctuary I bowed down my head. |

*Palkish*, "with worship:" from פלח, *palikh*, to worship, a word very frequent in Assyrian.

*Lu-takku*, or *lu-utakku*, from תחת, *takhat*, downwards. The particle *lu*, which is prefixed to so many verbs without altering their meaning, has not yet been explained. It is most frequent in some of the most ancient inscriptions: afterwards gradually disappearing, as having been found unnecessary. Frequently, in two copies of the same inscription, one has it and the

other has it not. It is not employed for the first person only of verbs, and therefore it is not an ancient word for *Ego*. I rather think it was a particle implying that the following word was a verb, which may have been a useful hint. What makes this more probable is that it is plainly so used in some instances where, to save space and trouble, only the last syllable of a verb is written, but with *lu* prefixed, which enabled the reader at once to supply the verb which the sense of the passage required. Thus *lu-ik* was to be read *etitik*.

But the particle *lu* prefixed to verbs in the *optative mood* is totally different from the above. This is the Heb. לוּ, and may be rendered *utinam*, etc.

*Ana shadam sirdi-su*. There is a curious passage in the E. I. H. inscription, which is very analogous to this.

*Shada*, embroidery: viz. that of the curtains. They were covered with imagery. From Syr. חט, *khat*, or *khad*, but pronounced *shad* in Assyrian. Rendered *suit*, *assuit*, *consuit*, in Schaaf's Lex. p. 178. Similarly the two languages agree, in the reduplicate form; viz. Assyrian, *shadad*, to embroider, Syr. חטט, *khatat*. With respect to the interchange of *kh* and *sh*, it is, as I have before remarked, very frequent.

*Sirdi*, curtains. Chald. סרדין, *sirdin*, curtains; so called, says Gesenius, from their peculiar texture, which was obtained by the use of needles: "*acuum ope ex filis contextum.*" He then quotes an Arabic word *sirid*, consuit or contexuit, which as a substantive means *stylus* or *subula*, apparently a long needle.

These *sirdin* he renders *aulæa*, *tapetes* (Ges. 969).

From this I infer that it was a kind of tapestry,

ornamented with imagery of needle-work: which is most expressly stated in the E. I. H. inscription, if I have rightly interpreted that curious passage.

The curtains of the Holy Tabernacle were called in Heb. שׁוּרְדִי, *sirdi*. (Ges. *ibid.*) The word has doubtless the same sense in Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions that it has in the Old Testament; and in fact it was so translated by me, from the context, before the above passage was found in Gesenius.

*Wekanish*, I bowed down. Rather distantly related to the Heb. כָּנַע. The root *kanish* is very common in Assyrian, as *lakansut*, rebellious, disobedient men: or those who will not bow down. *La iknusu ana niri*, they would not bow down to the yoke. But the verb is commonly in the *sha* conjugation, *weshaknis*, I caused to bow down, I subjugated.

*Kishadam*, the head. Ex. gr. *kishadati-sun wenakkush* I cut off their heads. (B. M. pl. 41. l. 76.)

| | |
|---|---|
| 13. tsattu kusudu vassuti | His store of bright-coloured garments |
| 14. nitba-su eilluti | his precious . . . . . |
| 15. eli sha panu weshatir. | more than before I augmented. |

*Tsattu* or *ssattu* may be a form of the Heb. שַׁחַד, munus, donum.

*Kusudu*, a word slightly altered from the Syriac כסיתא, *kasita*, a dress: pallium, velamen, vestimentum, from root כסא, amicivit, induit. (Schaaf, p. 274.)

*Vassuti*, bright- or many-coloured dresses. Thus Sennacherib carried off from Hezekiah all his (*birmi*) scarlet robes and *vassuti* (showy dresses). It appears to be the Arabic word mentioned by Gesenius, p. 969, *vashy* or *vasha*, which he renders *vestis versicolor*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 16. sha tamu I ga makhebara, ga sul, | Every day (*I distributed*) one striped ox and one spotted ox, |
| 17. khiza tzulukhi damguti, | Of a fat well-fed form to look upon, |
| 18. gadu sha ilim Beth-shaggathu u ilim Babilam. | The portion of the gods of "the Temple," and the gods of Babylon. |

*Sha tamu*, every day: literally, "of a day." A verb is wanting to this sentence, with the sense of "I distributed." Perhaps it is governed by *amnu* in l. 20, which has that meaning.

In line 16, Bellino's facsimile appears to read *makhebara*, which I have translated *striped*. I suppose it means having a spotted or variegated skin, or handsomely striped. I think it is a participle of the verb *khebar*, חבר, *lineis notatus est: variegatus est*. The stripes on a leopard's skin are denoted by this term, and in Arabic *khebrah* means a striped garment (Ges. 317). [Whence does the *zebra* take his name? If it is an Arabic word, I should suppose it meant "striped."]

The other ox has the epithet *sul*, which I suppose to mean *virgatus* or *virgis notatus* (marked with lines), from Heb. סל, *sal*, virga (Ges. 713).

So the Greeks use *ῥαβδωτος*, as *ἱματια ῥαβδωτα*, *Xen.* (striped garments): and, applied to animals, it means streaked, striated, like the Lat. *virgatus* (especially lengthways). Arist. Hist. An. 4, 4, 6.

*Khiza*, to look upon. Heb. חזה, whence חזות, *khizut*, species, maximè magna et pulchra. (Ges.)

*Tzulukhi*, fat or well-fed: from צלח, benè crevit: prosperavit (Ges. 864).

*Tzulukhi damguti*, of a fat or well-fed figure. This word *damguti* (probably pronounced *damyuti*) would hardly be recognizable if it were not that the same pas-

sage recurs Col. III. l. 11: and *there* the word is written *damuti*, which is plainly the Syriac דמות *demut*, a figure. In Ezekiel "all four had one form," דמות אחד.

*Gadu*, a portion: from the Syriac *gad*, to cut off (Schaaf, p. 85). Tiglath Pileser uses a similar expression when he gives a portion of the enemy's spoil to the gods. He says, *akish*, I cut it off. We might also compare the Homeric *τεμενος ταμον εξοχον αλλων*.

The passage which follows next is extremely difficult, and I must leave it without translation, beyond the remarks in the notes.

19. nunu itsuru wesumu pila simat apparim.
20. dishpam khimiti sits bidumuk-sha amnu
21. kurunu dashpam sikar tsatum
22. karanam eillu karanam mati zallu
23. Tuhimmu, Tsimmini, Khilbun.
24. Aranabanu, Tzukham,
25. Beth-Kubati, u Bitati.

The first line occurs again in Col. II. 29, and again in Col. III. 13, with a slightly different collocation of the words. These passages should be referred to, as their comparison may perhaps throw some light upon the meaning. I translate the first line "*a kind of fish, which I called 'imperial fish,' for they are marked with a band on their heads like a diadem.*" Here, I would ask naturalists whether any fish is known in Babylonia, answering to the above description, or at any rate characterized by a remarkable band of colour on the head? However that may be, I proceed to examine the words of the text.

*Nunu*, fishes, as in Heb. and frequently in Assyrian. *Itsuru*, kings: from Heb. עצר, *itsur*, imperium: and as a verb it means *imperavit* (Ges. 788).

It also occurs in Assyrian: as, in the dedication of a tablet, *itsri dandanni*, "unto the all-powerful king."

*Wesumu*, I named them: from Heb. שׂם, *sum*, a name: very frequent in Assyrian.

*Pila* is in the two other passages written *bila*. Adopting the latter reading, it is most probably the Heb. בל, the root of בלל, maculavit, Ges. 151 (which becomes simply בל in the derived word תבל, *tabul*, maculatio). *Pila* would therefore signify *marked* or *striped*.

*Simat*, a diadem, is a very common Assyrian word.

*Apparim* seems evidently to be the Heb. אפר, *apar*, a band round the head. Ges., p. 89, renders it 'fascia frontem tegens,' also 'tegumentum capitis.' Thus all the words agree in indicating the meaning which I have given, or at any rate something nearly similar.

The following lines are obscure; we will therefore pass on to l. 22, where we find the king speaking of *mati zallu*, the revolted cities.

This is from Heb. זלל, to shake off, viz. the yoke, which word is sometimes added. The names of the revolted cities are then given, Tuhimmu, etc. This appears to have been a religious revolt, not against the authority of the king, but against the worship of Marduk. There are many indications in the inscriptions of the existence of a powerful minority who rejected the established idolatry. The king however put down the revolt and re-established the worship of Marduk, which he compares to a beneficent stream, fertilizing the land. Similar things are stated in the inscription of Esar-Haddon (B. M. pl. 45. l. 42–54), about a religious schism in the neighbourhood of Babylon. Of the cities here named, Beth-Kubati is named in Sennacherib's inscriptions as Beth-Kubitti, and Bitati is

probably Bittutu, where Sennacherib fought a battle with Susubi the Chalybæan.

| | |
|---|---|
| 26. Kima mie nari la nibim | As with waters from streams numberless |
| 27. in palikh Marduk u Zarpanita | With the worship of Marduk and Zarpanita |
| 28. bieli-ya lu-dasham | my lords, I fertilized them |

*Palikh.* See Bellino's facsimile for this word.

The goddess Zarpanita was the wife of Marduk.

*Udasham* is the same as *udasha*, the final *m* being frequently euphonious. Probably from Heb. דשא, *dasha*, to make green, to cause to grow; which the streams of water, just mentioned, would do. It therefore makes a harmonious metaphor.

| | |
|---|---|
| 29. papakha subat belluti-su | The chapel which is the dwelling of his Majesty (viz. *Marduk*) |
| 30. khurassi namram shallarish lu-stakkan. | With shining gold splendidly I adorned. |
| 31. bab khilit-zu khurassi weshalbishu. | The gate which encloses it I covered with gold. |
| 32. Bit ana Zarpanita bilti-ya | A temple unto Zarpanita my lady |
| 33. kusvam wezahin. | With hangings I adorned. |
| 34. Bit Zida, subat Sarikimir, Kiya, | The temple of Zida which is the dwelling of the god Sarikimir and the goddess Kiya |

A verb seems wanting at the end of this sentence with the sense of "I embellished."

*Namram*, usually *namri*. The *m* is euphonious.

*Ashtakkan*, elsewhere *ashdakkan*. The *sha* conjugation of *dak*, to make bright. Syriac דכא, purus. This verb must be carefully distinguished from *ashtakan*, I commanded, I set up; which is quite another verb.

*Khilitzu* from כלא *clausit*. *Bab khilit-zu*, porta clau-

dens eum (sacellum). We find this word in the inscriptions of Ashurakhbal: *ana beth khili la isarrak*, he shall not break with violence into the closed apartments (or harem).

*Kusvam* may be tapestry: from כסה, texit, velavit se; in Syriac, to dress, clothe.

*Kiya* was probably wife of the god Sarikimir. חיא, in Chaldee, signifies *life*. Another form in Hebrew is חוה, *khevah* or *hevah*, which signifies *life*, and is also the name of Eve, vulg. Heva. It is stated in Genesis that Eve was so called because she was the mother of all living. The above etymology is generally admitted (see Ges. p. 322). It is therefore curious to find that there was a Babylonian goddess of the same name: although it may be quite accidental, since the name of her husband is unlike any Biblical name. The name חוה is also found in the great E. I. H. inscription.

The name Sarikimir is quite uncertain. Perhaps it should be read *sar sari kimir*, king of all kings; in that case it would be the title of some deity, and not his proper name. A verb is wanting after line 34, such as "I built," or "I repaired."

| | |
|---|---|
| 35. papakha Nabiu sha kireb Beth-Shaggathu | The chapel of Nebo which is within the chief temple |
| 36. sibbu-su, sigaru-su, u babnaku-su | its thrones, its *minarets?* and its . . . . . |
| 37. khurassi weshalbishu | with gold I covered |
| 38. Bit kima tamu lu-nammir. | and that temple itself I made as splendid as the sun. |

The last line occurs frequently. The phrase is sometimes *tamish*, sometimes as here, *kima tamu*, "like the day," *i.e.* like the sun, the god of day, as was first remarked by Dr. Hincks.

| | |
|---|---|
| 39. Bitti el-ki zikurat Babilam | The temple of the Planet which is the tower of Babylon. |
| 40. in khidati u rishati ebus. | with joy and delight I built. |
| 41. Babilam makhash bel rabu Marduk | In Babylon the chosen city of the great lord Marduk, |
| 42. Imgur-Bel bit-dur-su rabam | Imgur-Bel his magnificent dwelling-place |
| 43. weshaklil. | I finished. |
| 44. in .... gab babati rabati rimu eri | On the ..... of the great gates, bulls of bronze |
| 45. eikduti, u usbir (*in the plural*) shatzutzuti ushazits. | bright and shining; and *usbirs* skilfully carved, I fixed up. |

The planets were called the divine *ki*. At Borsippa was the *zikurat*, or tower of the seven planets, now the Birs Nimrud.

*Khidati* and *rishati* are generally named together: the first I derive from חדא, *khada*, gaudium: the second from רצה, *ritsa* or *risha*, delight.

*Makhash* is sometimes a *city*, sometimes a *temple-city*, or a *temple* simply. These temples appear, however, to have been usually fortified.

The Imgur-Bel is constantly spoken of. I imagine *imgur* to be an old Hamitic word like *imga*, a king, *imduk*, glorious, etc.

*Dur*, a habitation, Heb. דור, habitavit.

*Rabam*, the final *m* euphonious.

.... *gab*: the first syllable seems doubtful. If the word is *mashgab*, that would mean the 'summit,' Heb. משגב, Ges. 622.

In the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar the convenient sign for the plural is seldom employed. In order therefore to express the plural of a word, it was written twice. But this was, of course, found very inconvenient when the word was a long one, and there-

fore they contented themselves with repeating a part of it. Thus the plural of *usbir* was written *usbir bir* (see line 45). Nevertheless in another inscription we find *usbir usbir*. Similarly I think that *immir mir* in Col. iii. l. 12, stands for *immir immir*, the plural of *immir*, whatever that word may mean.

*Rimu* I have translated *bulls*, but, I believe, they were properly buffaloes. Heb. רים, *rim*, a buffalo (Job xxxix. 9). The Assyrian for a buffalo appears to be *am*, and the plural is *am* followed by the plural sign which is mentioned in the last page.

Instead of this, our inscription employs the reduplicate form *am am*, as in the case of all other plurals. But in the E. I. H. inscription this plural word is written *rimu*. It may be objected that this was a different term for the same thing; but it so happens that a transcript exists of this portion of the great hieratic inscription into vulgar characters, and this transcript replaces *rimu* by *am am*.

It will be sufficient to point out this anomaly without dwelling further upon it.

*Eri*, bronze, may be compared with the Latin *æs*, *æris*, *æra;* so may also the adjective *irinu* with *æreus*.

*Eikduti*. See Note A at the end of this paper.

*Usbir*, probably some animal. *Usbir shatzutzuti* is also found in Neriglissar, line 26. This adjective is the Heb. חצץ, to cut. *sh* is written for *kh*, as frequently happens. But the verb קצץ, to cut, also deserves consideration.

*Ushazits* or *weshazits* is a very common verb, always distinctly meaning "I fixed up firmly," as a sculptured tablet, a bronze image, etc.

It is the *sha* conjugation of the Heb. עזז, 'corrobo-

ravit, firmavit.' The root is עז, 'robur, fortitudo.' Gesenius also gives the reduplicate form עזז of the same meaning.

| | |
|---|---|
| 46. khirit-zu akhriu, subul mie aksut, | I dug its moat, but I covered over the flowing stream of waters. |
| 47. kibir-su in azarut duya u libial gushurra | its mound with (*strong building materials*) |
| 48. lu abnu. | I built. |
| 49. zarati kibri-sha kar dali | Its *zarati* . . . . . |
| 50. sha kima ssattu la uttassu | which like . . . . . |
| 51. in azarut duya u libial gushurra weshabish. | with (*strong building materials*) I finished. |

*Akhriu*, I dug, *khirit*, the moat: both words from כרה, *karah* or *kerah*, to dig. The moat of the city is probably meant.

*Subul*, the flow: from Heb. שׁב, fluxit.

*Mie*, waters. Heb. מי.

*Aksut*, I covered over: from Heb. כסה, 'texit, operuit.' In Chaldee, 'occultus, absconditus fuit.' *Ex. gr.* וכסהו בעפר eumque (sanguinem) operiat terrâ. The final *t* is probably obtained from the substantive כסות, operimentum, tegumentum.

*Kibir*, a mound, related to קבר.

*Gushurra*, beams of wood, occurs frequently: from root גשר.

*Libi*, bricks.

The whole line occurs frequently, and appears to be a standing phrase for "good building materials."

*Zarati* is a tent or pavilion.

*Kibri*, perhaps *lofty*, גבר, *gibir*, superbiit: and Arabic adjective *superbus* (Ges. 194).

## *Column II.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Line 1. Astak masharti bit-shaggathu dunnunu | When the rest of the great Temple had been repaired |
| 2. limnu sha ak gi su | (*I made*) the sheet of water for its fishponds |
| 3. ana Babilam la tsanagam | in Babylon, of such ample size |
| 4. sha manama sar makrim la ibusu | as no former king had ever done |
| 5. in kabat Babilam: kar dali | among the fishponds of Babylon: (*and*) with a wall of good flat bricks |
| 6. balar shemesh utdu Babilam, weshaskir. | I enclosed the (other) sheet of water on the East of Babylon. |

*Masharti*, perhaps from root *shar*, שאר, reliquus fuit, remansit.

*Limnu* resembles in sound the Greek λιμνη. Neriglissar in his inscription complains that an ornamental gate had been destroyed by the *limnu*, and by enemies. This may be a flood of water, for in the same inscription he speaks of the river overflowing, and being a source of danger to the palace.

*Ak gi*, in this passage: but in the E. I. H. inscription it is *gi ak*. *Ak* seems an old word for *water*, well known in the Indo-Germanic languages, as in old German *aach*, *ach;* Latin *aqua*. Also it seems to have been an old Semitic word, for we find *akhi* used for an *aqueduct* twice in the inscription of Neriglissar, Col. II. lines 6 and 8.

*Gi*, a reservoir of water, Heb. גיא and גי. According to Ges. p. 208, the root גיא means *confluxit aqua;* and גי vallis, *ab aquâ ibi confluente dicta.*

*La tsanagam*, by no means confined or restricted: from Heb. *tsanak*, צנק, Ges. 869, which is used in Assyrian to express things that are confined or shut

up: not confined in a narrow space, but, on the contrary, ample. This negative mode of expression is very much used in Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions. He says a thing was *not small*, where the reader is to understand it was very large and handsome.

*Makrim*, usually *makri*. The final *m* euphonious.

*Kabat*, plural of *kaba*. This is doubtless the word גבא, *gaba*, a fish-pond, used by Ezekiel (Ges. 189). With this account compare that given in the great E. I. H. inscription (vi. 22), which appears to relate to the same work. We there read:

| | |
|---|---|
| Gi ak ana imgur-Bel kar Babilu la dakhi, | (*I made*) a fishpond in Imgur-Bel which is the chief temple f Babylon, and I made by no means a small one: |
| sha manama sar makri la ibusu, | which no former king had ever done the like of: |
| 4000 ammat gagari | of 4000 square cubits in surface. |

Here, instead of *ak gi*, we have *gi ak:* instead of *la tsanagam*, not confined, we have *la dakhi*, not small: in proof of which the measurement is given, 4000 square cubits.

*Dakhi* is a word to which there are two Hebrew roots related, דק, minutus, tenuis, exilis, and דכא of nearly the same meaning. דק is used of the air (aura tenuis), of the lean kine and ears of corn in Genesis, and of various other things poor and contemptible. The same boast occurring (that no former king had done the like) further tends to identify the works spoken of.

Returning to our inscription, Col. II. l. 6, we have *balar*, for which, in the E. I. H., we find *balri* (see l. 28, kar dali balri shemesh utdu Babilu weshaskii).

But another passage substitutes *palga* for *balar*, which appears to be the Heb. and Syriac *palga*, from פלג, to cut; here meaning an artificial piece of water obtained by cutting or excavating the earth

*Shemesh utdu*, the rising sun. This verb occurs rather frequently.

| | |
|---|---|
| 7. khirit-zu akhriu | I dug its moat: |
| 8. kibir-su in azarut duya u libial gushurra | Its mound in (*strong building materials*) |
| 9. wezakkir khursanish. | I built in a workman-like manner. |

We had this before (Col. I. 46), but with the variant *abnu*, I built, (Heb. *banah*, בנה, to build,) instead of *wezakkir*. This comparison determines the meaning of the verb *wezakkir*; which is very important, since that is the verb employed in the controverted passage in the Birs Nimrud inscription, where it is said that an ancient king began to build that temple, and 42 *hu wezakkir*, but did not finish its upper part (*la wevalla risha-sha*). Now Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and myself translate 42 *hu wezakkir* "he built it to the height of 42 cubits," while M. Oppert insists that it means "42 ages are reckoned since that time:" from which he infers that the Birs Nimrud was the veritable Tower of Babel. He obtains this sense from the Heb. זכר, *zakar*, commemorare: but his translation of *hu* as *ætas*, or a cycle of years, is quite arbitrary.

Now, not here only, but in several other passages of the E. I. H. inscription, *wezakkir* means plainly *ædificare*: for instance, see Col. VIII. line 1.

| | |
|---|---|
| 10. itat Babilam sibik ishdi rabuti | The circuit-walls of Babylon as a mound of earth on a very wide base |

| | |
|---|---|
| 11. astappak-su. | I piled them up. |
| 12. mili kasham mie rabuti | With an agitated flood of wide waters |
| 13. kima gibishti yamti weshalmish. | like the glassy waves of the sea, I protected them.* |
| 14. apparim lustaskir-su. | with banks of clay I surrounded it (*viz. this flood*). |
| 15. ana shada nabishti nissut Babilam askunu. | to rejoice the spirit of the people of Babylon I made it. |

*Itat* in several passages appears to mean a circuit-wall. It is a doubtful word, but it seems related to *itie*, which certainly means the frontiers of a land: the circuit or boundary of a field or property.

*Sibik*, a heap of earth: from שׁפך, *shapak*, effudit.

*Ashtappak*, verb of the *t* conjugation: from the same root.

*Ishdi*, foundations: from יסד, fundavit (ædificium).

*Mili*, a flood: from מלא, plenitudo.

*Kasham*, part. from *kasha*, to be agitated, to be in violent motion. In Heb. the verb is חוּשׁ, moveri *motu interno vehementiore*, Ges. 327.

*Gibishti* appears to have been their name for *glass*. Heb. גביש, *gibish*, *κρύσταλλος*, and *glacies* (ice), Ges. 192. It is well known that Lat. *vitrum* meant both *glass* and a colour (greenish blue). So the English *glass* and Latin *glacies* are related to the Celtic Welsh *glás* (green or blue).

Window-glass and ice are both sea-green when seen through a considerable thickness, and so are the waters of the sea.

*Yamti* or *imti*, the sea. Heb. ים, *mare*. Chaldee ימא. *Imti* is merely ימה or ימת.

*Weshalmish* for *weshalmi-su*, I made it safe; *i. e.* I

* *i. e.* from the assaults of enemies.

made *the wall* secure from the attack of enemies, by inundating the country around (probably this was done only in the time of war); for the E. I. H. has more plainly, *mada weshalmi*, I made the country secure (VI. 43). The root is שלם, salvare. Here is the passage (VI. 39):—"Lest the enemies should attack by surprise the immense circuit of Babylon (*itie Babilu la tsanaga*), I made the country safe with mighty floods of water resembling the waves of the sea: *mie rabuti kima gibishti amati mada weshalmi.*" The account in the E. I. H. then goes on to say that the banks of this flood on the outer side were like the banks or *dunes* of some great sea, and moreover strengthened with a strong brick wall. There was therefore a double *enceinte* of works round Babylon.

*Lustaskir*, composed of the usual particle *lu* and *ustaskir*, the *t* conjugation of the verb "to surround." Another conjugation, *usaskir* or *weshashkir*, occurred, Col. II. l. 6.

When an enemy approached Babylon, it was possible to defend it by inundating the country, and this flood, with a fresh breeze, might beat against the walls. Nevertheless, I suspect a little Oriental hyperbole.

The line 15, 'ana shada nabishti nissut Babilam askunu,' is difficult. But we must be guided by the parallel passage in E. I. H. (VI. 39), which speaks of the enemies (*yabi*) of Babylon, and says these waters were a defence against them. Therefore this effectual protection may be here spoken of as *giving courage* to the people of Babylon, or rejoicing their spirit.

*Shada* may be Heb. חדה, *khada*, gaudium, with the usual change of *kh* into *sh*. At first, however, I gave to this passage an opposite signification, viz.,

"for the *destruction* of the lives of the *enemies* of Babylon, I made it."

*Shada*, destruction. In Heb. שד and שדד, exitium, and as a verb, *perdidit, trucidavit*, etc. And I find the word *nissut* used for "enemies" in Tiglath-Pileser, IV. 49, where that king marches against the kings and nations *nissuti* or hostile, who dwelt by the Upper Sea. The root seems to be the Heb. נצה, *nitsah*, which, in Psalm lx. 2, means *bellum gessit*. See Ges. 682. *Sed judicet lector.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 16. In makhash mada Sumir u Akkadim | In the great temples of Chaldæa and Mesopotamia |
| 17. sutak weshatir. | I augmented the offerings. |

*Sutak* may be from *shatakh*, שתח, expandit, extendit (manus), etc.

| | |
|---|---|
| 18. Beth-Zida, beth kinu in Barzipa | The temple of Zida, that splendid temple in Borsippa |
| 19. esansish ebus: erinu zululi-su | I built again. Its cedar roof |
| 20. khurassi namram weshalbish. | with shining gold I covered. |
| 21. in khurassi, kaspa, abnam nisikti | With gold, silver, and precious stones |
| 22. era its meshkanna erinu | (incrusted) upon *meshkanna* wood and cedar wood |
| 23. wezahin sikin-su. Nabiu u Nanaya | I adorned its habitation. Nabo and Nanaya |
| 24. in khidati u rishati | in joy and delight, |
| 25. subat tup libbi kirba-su weshasib. | seated on lofty thrones, within it I caused to dwell. |

The above does not seem to require many remarks. The syllables *sib* and *lib* appear to me to be used quite indifferently. The Hebrew roots corresponding are שב or ישב and לב. The meaning of the first is a *seat, dwelling*, or *habitation:* that of the second, a

*heart.* In Assyrian each of these two roots has these two meanings.

26. sha tamu I ga makhebara, ga sul
27. XVI pasilli bitruti
28. gadu sha ilim Barzipa
29. isikh nunu itsuru wesumu
30. bila simat apparim
31. daspam sira as kurunnu
32. sikar satu karanam eillam
33. dishpa khimiti sits bamul-sha amnu.

Every day (*I distributed*) one striped ox, and one spotted ox,
and 16 . . . . . .
the portion of the gods of Borsippa,
*isikh* fish, which I called king-fish,
striped with a band on the head like a diadem.

See Col. I. l. 19 to 22.

34. Palikh Nabiu u Nanaya bieli-ya
35. eli sha panu wedakhit.
36. sha tamu VIII lu gini Nergal,
37. Lash, ilim sha Bit-Mislam u Tigga ukin.
38. tsattuk ilim rabim usparzikhu
39. eli gini labri gina weshatir,

The worship of Nabo and Nanaya, my lords,
more than before I extended.
Every day eight sheep unto Nergal and Lash,
the deities of the temple of Mishlu and Tigga, I sacrificed.
The just rights of those great gods I (*augmented?*).
In excess of the former sheep I added one sheep more.

*Palikh:* see the facsimile for this word.

*Gina*, a sheep. In Chaldee ען and עאן; but in Heb. צאן, *tsina*, and so in the Assyrian, as written at Nineveh. (Tsade et Ain pro more permutatis, Schaaf, p. 398.)

Chaldee, emphatic ענא, *ghina*, if we give to ע the force of *ghain*. Another Chaldee form is עאן. This has much resemblance to the Greek name for a sheep (*ow* in the accus. case). And the Welsh peasantry

call it *oin* at the present day. That ancient language contains many Greek words.

*Tsattuk*, portio justa. Heb. צדקה, *tsadika*, rectum, jus.

40. Beth Tara sha Takiprat-ki ana Shemesh u Yo
41. bieli-ya esansish ebus.
42. Beth Tara sha as Suarsam-ki ana Shemesh u Yo
43. bieli-ya esansish ebus.
44. Beth Its-nuik sha..... ki, ana Sin, bel
45. naram sarruti-ya esansish ebus.
46. Beth Ini-Anu sha as Bel-ki, ana Ib
47. Bel-ya esansish ebus.
48. Beth Kugina sha ir Mash ana Bel-Zarbi
49. bel-ya esansish ebus.

The temple of Tara in . . . city, unto the Sun and Moon
my lords, I constructed anew.
The temple of Tara in Suarsam city, unto the Sun and Moon
my lords, I constructed anew.
The temple of the Nuik-tree in the city of Mugheir, unto the Moon, the lord,
the supporter of my royal power, I constructed anew.
The temple of the Eyes of Anu in the city of Bel, unto Ib
my lord, I constructed anew.
the temple of Kugina in the city of Mash, unto Bel Zarbi
my lord, I constructed anew.

*Yo*, the moon goddess, became the *Io* of the Greeks.

*Sin* was the lunar god. His name still means *moon* in Syriac.

*Mugheir* is the modern name of the city. The ancient name is uncertain. Rawlinson thinks it was Ur of the Chaldees. ('Athenæum,' April 10, 1862.)

Nebuchadnezzar here states, that he rebuilt the temple of the Nuik-tree, which was dedicated to the Moon in the city of Mugheir. At a later period (see B. M. pl. 68) Nabonidus repaired the same temple of the Moon, in the same city, which is a beautiful agreement of independent authorities. One copy of his cylinder calls it the temple of the Nuik-tree, the other calls it the temple of the Asuka-tree, which therefore are the same.

The Eyes of Anu, I think, meant the starry firmament. I find that in the old Hamitic language, *Ani* meant *heaven*, and therefore I conjecture that *Anu* and *Ani* were the same.

The name of a deity Ib is given in l. 46, but I think this can hardly be correct. I should prefer to read *Ri*, but then the phrase ought to be *Ri, my lady*.

The name of the deity *Zarbi* has a slight resemblance to the Egyptian Serapis.

| | |
|---|---|
| 50. simati rishtati | The splendid diadems |
| 51. belludi kutmuti | and .... jewels |
| 52. sha Ishtar (X) ki, bilit (X) ki, eilliti | of Ishtar of (X), the Lady of (X) city, which were most valuable, |
| 53. wetir ashrussun, | I restored to their place |
| 54. ana (X) ki shahidu-su. | and gave them to (X) city. |

These valuable jewels had been plundered by some former king from the temple of Ishtar, in a city of whose name I am uncertain, and have therefore denoted it by (X).

*Ashrussun.* The enclitic pronoun *sun* having no accent, a strong accent fell on the last syllable of *ashrú*.

*Shahidu* may be Heb. שׁחד, donavit, donum dedit, Ges. 992.

| | |
|---|---|
| 55. Ana Beth-Anna labatsa-sha damikti wetir, | In the temple of Anna, her *labatsa*, I repaired the edifice. |
| 56. timinna Beth Anna labri | On the old foundation—platform of the temple of Anna |
| 57. akhit abriu | I offered a burnt-offering, |
| 58. eli timinni-sha labri | (and) on the old platform |
| 59. hukin vassu-sha. | I laid the foundations of (*the new temple*). |
| 60. Nabiu-kudur ussur. | Nebuchadnezzar [*see next column*]. |

## *Column III.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Line 1. Ishakku ziri | (Nebuchadnezzar) the great High Priest |
| 2. zanin makhash ilim rabim anaku. | the restorer of the temples of the great gods, I am he. |
| 3. Ana Beth-shaggathu u Beth-zida | In all the temples and holy edifices |
| 4. kakdaya kayanak | By my high priestly authority |
| 5. ashrat Nabiu u Marduk bieli-ya | the wealth of Nebo and Marduk my lords |
| 6. astinikha kayanam. | I administered during my priesthood. |
| 7. isinati-sun damgati | (*I appointed*) their handsome *isinati* |
| 8. akit-zun rabti | for noble sacrifices. |
| 9. in ga makhe (*plural*) pakluti | With fat striped oxen, |
| 10. ga sul (*plural*) | and spotted oxen |
| 11. tsulukhi damuti. | of well-fed form. |

*Kakdaya.* Compare with this passage the inscription of Neriglissar, Col. I. 13, where that king says that Nebo gave him the sceptre of justice, and Tira gave him his *kakdu* or *kakku*, which therefore I think was some emblem of authority. It may however have merely meant "full authority," from חקה, *law*: the middle letter being doubled in Hebrew. This a word used in the most weighty sense, meaning decretum Dei, jus, lex: as lex cœli, lex naturæ, lex æterna, etc.

It must have been a very important part of the functions of the High Priest to administer the great wealth of the temples.

M. Oppert derives *kayanam* from כהן, a priest, in which I agree with him.

*damgati*, in l. 7, being an adjective, is probably the same as *damguti* in Col. I. 17, "of handsome form."

*Ga sul, ga sul*, is simply the plural of *ga sul*.

This reduplication must have been found very inconvenient in long inscriptions.

*Ga makhe* is an abbreviation for *makhebara*. *Damuti*, Syriac דמות, figura.

| | |
|---|---|
| 12. immir mir gukkallam | *immir* fish ..... |
| 13. wesumu bila nunu itsuru | I called them the striped king-fish |
| 14. simat apparim. | from the diadem-band on their head. |

I suppose that *immir mir* was a mode of writing the plural of *immir*, as *usbir bir* certainly was the plural of *usbir*.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S MUSEUM.

| | |
|---|---|
| 15. Tibik sira as la nibi mamish, karanam | Displayed in a row on numberless tables, the offerings, |
| 16. shatti sha aminnut, ..... si u kaniki, | those which I have recounted, *both large and small?* |
| 17. in makhari-sun etitik. | (each) in their own repositories I placed them. |
| 18. nishat rapshati sha Marduk biela | The great marvels (of art) with which Marduk the lord |
| 19. wemallu gatu-ya | had filled my hand |
| 20. ana Babilam wekannish. | in Babylon I collected together. |
| 21. bilat mada mada bilit tsatu | The tribute immense, immense, of offered gifts |
| 22. kiship tashati kirba-su amkhur | having counted up their number, I placed in the treasury |
| 23. ana tsilli-su dari. | for their eternal preservation. |
| 24. Kullat nishat dabish wepakhir: | All those marvels I carefully examined |
| 25. karishim daliti | and upon handsome tables |
| 26. la nibi astapak-su. | without number, I spread them out. |

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix., p. 124, I have given a translation of an inscription of Ashurakhbal, in which that monarch (who

was a mighty hunter) describes his museum. He had a menagerie of living animals, and a collection probably of stuffed ones; at any rate of skins, horns, etc. He says, "The names of the animals were placed beside them." From this inscription I was led to infer, that the meaning of the curious passage in the text might be something of the same kind. The reader must judge whether this interpretation of the passage flows naturally from the words employed.

*Tibik*, spread out: from Heb. טפח, to spread. The 1st person of this verb, *atbuk*, I spread, is very frequent in Assyrian.

*Sira*, a row. Heb. שורה, series, ordo: root שרה, ordinavit. Arabic שורה, series lapidum, a necklace.

*La nibi*, without number, a very common Assyrian phrase.

*Mamish*, tables, or perhaps *shelves*, *supports*: from עמס, *amesh*, to support or carry: for which, in one passage of Scripture, עמש is found. (Ges. 778.)

*In makhari-sun etitik*. In the bas-relief representing Sennacherib receiving the spoils of Lachish, the epigraph says of the spoils, *makhar-su etik*, "he sent them to his treasury." The verb is Heb. עתק, movit, transtulit. It is common in Assyrian, and also the other conjugations *etitik* and *weshatik*.

*Wekannish*, I collected, is exactly the Heb. כנס, *kanish*, coacervavit thesauros; used in Ecclesiastes.

*Bilat*, a tribute. Chald. בלו, *bilu*, 'tributum.' (Ges. 150.)

*Tsatu* may be the Heb. צדק, the final guttural being lost, as in *imu*, it decayed, from מק; for the Heb. צדקה meant a gift. (Ges. 856.)

*Kiship*, from Heb. חשף, to enumerate.

*Tashati*, a verbal substantive, from נשא, *nasha*, to cast up a sum, or reckon its amount. Ges. p. 691, says, 'cepit summam: numerum inivit: numeravit.'

*Kiship tashati* is, I think, like a Latin ablative absolute, *summâ numeratâ*, vel *numero inito*. Registers are often spoken of, indeed they must have been very necessary in so vast an empire.

*Kiship* is used apparently for *money* in the Sargon Cylinder. I have examined the passage at p. 170 of this volume.

*Amkhur*, I put into a treasury: or simply, I received: generally written *amkhar*, from *makhar* a treasury.

*Tsilli*, protection. Heb. צל, *tsil*, tutela, præsidium.

*Dari*, eternal. Heb. דר, *dar*, sæculum, ætas.

*Kullat*, all. Heb. כל, *kul* or *kol*, omnis.

*Dabish*, benè. Root Chaldee טב, *tab*, bonus.

*Wepakhir*, I well examined, or I selected the best specimens. Heb. בחר, *bakhir*. Ges. says, 'probavit, examinavit, elegit, delegit.'

*Karishim* (so in the facsimile), well made (affabrè facti): from חרש, *karish*, a workman in wood or metal. Ges. says, 'faber lignorum,' etc.

*Daliti*. This word and its cognates *tali* and *taliti* are generally employed to denote planks of wood, slabs of stone, flat bricks, or other flat objects used in building. I think the Greek δελτος, a tablet, is hence derived.

*Astapak*, I spread forth, or rather, I caused to be spread: I had them displayed: the *sha* conjugation of טפח, *tapak*, extendit. The 1st person of the simple conjugation is *atbuk*, I spread.

27. Ninu-su bit-rab mishab sarruti-ya

(And then) by his favour, the Palace which is the dwelling of my majesty

| | |
|---|---|
| 28. barka as nissut rabati | (and) a court for my great noblemen |
| 29. subat rishati u khidati | a dwelling of joy and gladness |
| 30. ashar katruti uktanna-su | a place surrounded by grandeur |
| 31. in Babilam esansish ebus. | in Babylon I constructed anew. |

*Mishab* is often written *miship:* from ישב, sedit, consedit, mansit, habitavit.

*Barka* should perhaps be *marka.* Sennacherib says that his eldest son Ashurnadan was brought up in his *barka*, which I therefore think must be translated *court.*

Noblemen are frequently called *nissut rabati*, or *rapshati* (great men).

*Ashar katruti*, etc. *Ashar*, a place, (of which) *katruti-su*, its environs, *uktanna*, are grand.

*Katruti*, from כתר, cinxit, circumdedit.

*Uktanna*, grand. In the inscriptions, a king often says, "in uktan libbi-ya,"—in the pride or exaltation of my heart—I advanced, etc. etc.

| | |
|---|---|
| 32. in ki gallam rishtim | In a noble lofty situation |
| 33. in irat irziti rapashti | upon a vast mound of earth |
| 34. in azarut duya u libial gushurra | with (*the strongest building materials,*) |
| 35. wesharsit timin-sha. | I laid its foundation platform. |

*Irat*, a mound, consisting of earth *flung down:* either from root ירד, dejectus est, or else ירש, conjecit, or ירה, fundamenta jecit. The latter word is used in Job xxxviii. 6: Quis jecit (*i. e.* collocavit) lapidem angularem ejus? This *lapis angularis* seems to have had the importance and sanctity of the Assyrian *timin.*

*Azarut* may be from אזר, cinxit, and may refer to a protecting wall built around the *timin.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 36. erinu daliti valtu Labnanu dishti | Cedar planks from the noble forests of Lebanon |

| | |
|---|---|
| 37. eilliti, ana tzululi-sha luublam. | to serve for its roofs, I brought home. |
| 38. kar dali | with a handsome wall |
| 39. in azarut duya u libial gushurra | made of strong building materials |
| 40. weshaskir-su. | I enclosed it. |

*Erinu* is also written *irni*.

*Dishti*, green forests: from Heb. דשא, viror, χλόη.

*Tzululi:* from צלל, to cover or protect. Ges. says 'obumbravit.' The verb *ubla*, sometimes *upla* or *ublam*, always means *I brought home*. The 3rd person plural is *ubiluni*, they brought.

It is the Heb. הובל, attulit; the root is יבל.

| | |
|---|---|
| 41. Paras sarruti, sulukh belluti | A royal oratory (or sanctuary) and a princely *sulukh* |
| 42. in libbi-sha weshapam. | in the centre of it I built splendidly. |

The *Paras* of a temple appears to have been the sanctuary of the deity. It is derived from Heb. פרש, *paras*, separavit. But here, being in the palace, it was probably the king's private chapel or oratory.

*Sulukh* seems to imply some lofty part of the palace: from Chald. סלק, ascendit; unless it means the great staircase leading to the upper stories of the palace, which, I believe, was generally called the *lulie*.

*Weshapam*, usually written *weshapa*, is often employed for 'building in a grand style.' Thus in E. I. H. "la weshapa arki," I never built such a work (*i.e.* elsewhere).

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PRAYER.

| | |
|---|---|
| 43. Ashli gata wetsalla bel bieli | With folded hands I prayed to the lord of lords |
| 44. ana Marduk rimini illiku tzubu-ya. | and my prayer ascended unto Marduk the supreme. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 45. Bel mada mada Marduk | the lord exalted, exalted, Marduk |
| 46. simit-zu itbi-ya. | on hearing them, approached to meet me.* |
| 47. Bit ebus: lala-sha lusbim! | I have built this house: may its glory be great! |
| 48. in Babilam in kirbi-su | In Babylon within it |
| 49. sibutu luksut! | may wealth ever abound! |
| 50. lusba littuti | May the revenue be ample |
| 51. sha sarin kibrati | received from foreign kings, |
| 52. sha kalati nishaeti | and from all the marvels (or precious things) |
| 53. bilat-zun | (*which form*) their tribute |
| 54. kabitti | immense! |
| 55. lumkhur kireb-sha: | May (all this) be treasured within it! |
| 56. libua | And may my descendants |
| 57. in kirbi-sha | living within this palace |
| 58. ana daruti | for evermore |
| 59. tsalmat gagada libielu! | over the wide universe hold dominion! |

The prayer seems to be entirely for wealth, splendour, and power. I had formerly interpreted lines 50–55 quite differently. "May this palace ever be inhabited by a race of warlike kings, and of virtuous women their queens!" The words seemed to support this meaning, viz. *littuti* from ילד, generare, or ולד, proles: *kibrati*, from גבר, a hero, or כבר, magnus.

*Kalati*, Heb. חיל, virtuous, as אשת חיל, uxor proba: *nishaeti*, mulieres, fem. of נש, homo (*nishi*, homines, is frequent in Assyrian), and *bilat*, a queen, is a very frequent word. *Kabitti*, numerous. *Lumkhur*, may it (the palace) receive, *kireb-sha*, within it. But, notwithstanding that this sense is tolerably well connected, I now prefer a different one: for most of the words

* He approached me: he met my prayers; *i. e.* he granted them.

have other senses, which must be taken into consideration.

The *kalati nishaeti* may be the *kullat nishat* of l. 24 in this column. *Bilat kabitti* may be the *bilat mada* of l. 21.

*lumkhur*, answering to *amkhur* of l. 22; and *kiprati* is often used for foreign nations.

And also because this passage recurs at the conclusion of the great E. I. H. inscription, and these words are there added: "From East to West, wherever the Sun shines,

foreign princes (*yali*) . . . . .

multiplied (*mugalliti*) . . . . ."

The sense is doubtful: I would compare *yali* with Heb. אילי, principes civitatis. But I adduce the passage here to show that "great tribute from all foreign nations" is the leading idea of the prayer.

Having considered this preliminary difficulty, I will now examine some of the words of the prayer, beginning with line 43.

*Wetsalla* is the Heb. צלא, to pray.

*Rimin*, a title of Marduk: see the E. I. H. (Col. X. l. 1), "kibituk-ka riminu Marduk, bit ebus,"—In thy name, O supreme Marduk! I have built this house!

The Rimmon of Scripture, a deity in whose temple Sennacherib was assassinated, was probably the same with Marduk Rimin. The derivation from *rimmon*, a pomegranate, is not supported by evidence.

*Tsubu*, a prayer: plural, *tsupie*.

*Simit*, a hearing. Heb. שמע, to hear.

*Itbi*, he came to meet: plural *itbuni*. This verb is very common in the older inscriptions. I believe it is the *t* conjugation of Heb. בא, venire.

*Lala*, glory, is probably for *alala*: from Heb. הלל, splenduit, celebratus fuit, etc. etc.

*Lusbim=lusba*. (See *lusba* hereafter.)

*Sibut* or *sibutu*, wealth: from Heb. *sibua*, שבע, abundantia. Instead of *sibutu luksut*, other inscriptions have *shalbuta luksu;* and the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser (Col. VII. 54) has the intermediate form *shabuta*. He says in praise of one of his ancestors that he always relied upon the great gods, and by their favour he attained unto Wealth and Old Age, *shabuta u labiruta illiku*.

*Luksut*. The verb *aksut* has more than one sense: it usually means to *take*, but also to *augment* and to *clothe*. I think the latter sense may be received here. From כסה, to clothe, subst. כסות, a dress or covering. The Assyrians often use the dative case without any *distinctive* sign: thus *shabuta* signifies "*unto* wealth" in the passage which I have quoted from Tiglath Pileser. In the present passage I think *sibuta* means "*in* or *with* wealth." We then have *sibuta luksut*, "may it be clothed in wealth!" or otherwise, "may wealth be augmented within it!"

*Lusba littuti*. This is varied in other inscriptions to a prayer for *shabie littuti* (abundant: from שבע, abundantia). Hence I conclude that *lusba* is the optative of that verb: "may it be abundant!"

*Sarin kibrati*, kings of the nations. Sennacherib ruled over *malki sha kiprati* (Bull inscription).

*Bilat*, tribute. Chald. בלו.

*Libua*, my descendants. *Lib* is properly the heart, Heb. לב, but it also means *nepos*, a descendant. Thus, when Tiglath-Pileser recounts his ancestors, he says (Col. VII. 55) that he was *lib libbi* of King

Ninev-bal-ukur. This I have translated "fourth descendant:" Oppert, "fifth descendant." And Rawlinson, who says that it literally means *heart of hearts*, renders it "the beloved child." The above-mentioned king has a name which I think means, "Ninev love the child!" from יקר, carus fuit.

*Tsalmat.* A great many examples collected by Ges. and others show that the letters ע *ain* and צ *tsaddi* are permuted in Heb. and Chaldee. Thus Heb. ארץ, terra, is ארע in Chaldee. צאן, a sheep, becomes ענא. צמר, *wool*, becomes עמרא: in fact Ges. calls this *creberrima permutatio.* On this principle I think that *tsalmat* may be a permutation of עלמת, the Universe. In Chaldee, עלמא, mundus, sæculum; also in Syriac, sæcula, and even tempus æternum. In Neriglissar's inscription, l. 9, that monarch says: Marduk called me to the sovereignty of the whole Universe, "ana ribituti tsalmat gagada ibiesu."

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NOTE A.—*Eri eikduti* is perhaps the same with a frequently-occurring phrase, *eri namri*, shining brass, or polished bronze. What makes this the more probable is, that in another phrase, the word *iktu* replaces *namriri.* One of the mystic titles of the Moon is *shaku namriri*, drinker of the divine splendours, *i.e.* reflecting the light of the Sun. This poetical idea is also found in Anacreon, in the ode beginning ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει, etc. etc. For the poet adds, after giving other examples of drinking, Τόν δ' ἥλιον σελήνη. The above phrase *shaku namriri* occurs on the obelisk, l. 6, and the Monolith, l. 4 (see B. M. pl. 27,4). But the Tiglath Pileser inscription, l. 6, replaces it by the phrase *shaku iktu* (the sign *divine* being prefixed to the latter word). Therefore I conclude that *iktu* also signified splen-

dour, and that *eri eikduti* meant *shining bronze.* With respect to *shaku* in the above phrase, it is the Heb. שקה, to drink (Ges. 1035).

Note B (to Col. II. l. 13).—Perhaps *gibishti yamti* means simply "the waves of the sea," and not "the crystal waves of the sea." For it appears from Ges. p. 234 and other authorities that there are two other words in Heb. and Chaldee resembling this, and they may have had a common origin. These are—

דבשת *dibishta*, the hump of a camel, 'gibbus cameli,' which according to Ges. is derived from

גדיש *gidish* or *gidishta*, acervus, tumulus, cumulus.

It appears, therefore, that the word meant any kind of hump, mound, heap, or swelling, and that it was differently pronounced in different places. I should think, though Gesenius does not say so, that the ultimate origin was from גב *gib* or *gub*, which means *gibbus* (as in Latin), also *dorsum animalium*, etc. Considering, moreover, that the Greek κῦμα, a wave, is admitted to come from κύειν, to swell, I think that *gibishti* in Col. II. l. 13, may be translated "swelling waves." *Apparim* in l. 14, which I have rendered "banks of clay," is the Heb. עפר, terra: agger è luto sive argillâ (Ges. 785).

Note C. (to Col. III. l. 4).—A bishop's *mitre* is derived from the East, μίτρα being a Persian headdress. May not the crosier or crook be equally derived from the East? If so, the *kakka*, or emblem of authority of the Babylonian high priest, may have been a crosier. An apt etymology is found in the Hebrew חחח otherwise חוח, a hook (Ges. 323 and 330).

Or if preferred, there is the word חכה (the middle letter doubled) Ges. 337. This word *kakka* or *khakka*, also signifies "a hook."

The crosier occurs among the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and I think with the phonetic value of *ik* or *hik*.

The inscription then says: "By my high priestly authority *astinikha ashrat Nabiu u Marduk*," I administered the wealth of the temples of those gods.

*Astinikha:* probably from root תנה *tanah*, 'dona distribuit.' Pindar calls the high priest of Zeus ταμιας Διος, and ταμιας means distributer, dispenser, steward, or treasurer.

*Ashrat*, the same as *asher*, עשר 'divitiæ:' frequent in Hebrew.

NOTE D. (to Col. I. l. 4).—*Mustalam akhits nimiki*, may perhaps mean "preserver of the possessions of the poor," an epithet implying the king's clemency and benevolence: for many rulers had little scruple in appropriating a poor man's field.

*Mustalam*, from שלם *salam*, to preserve.

*Akhits*. Heb. אחזה *akhitza*, possessio (imprimis agrorum). (Ges. 37.)

*Nimiki*. Chald. נמוך *nimuk*, submissus, depressus, and נמיכות, *nimikut*, depressio, submissio.

From the root מך, מאך, or מוך, *mak* or *muk*, ad inopiam redactus est: pauper factus est. See Schindler's Lex. pp. 980 and 1124.

NOTE E.—With respect to the obscure passage in Col. I. l. 21–25, it is possible that the seven revolted cities made their peace by presenting a handsome offering to the offended deities Marduk and Zarpanita.

*Karanam* may stand for *karbanam*, the plural of קרבן *korban*, an offering. If so, we might translate line 22, "A costly offering; the offering of the revolted cities, Tuhimmu, Tsimmini," etc.

Similarly in Col. III. l. 15, *karanam shatti* seems to mean "those offerings."

## XIII.—ON SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM CYPRUS COPIED BY COMMANDER LEYCESTER, R.N.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., HON. FOR. SEC. R.S.L.

(Read May 8th, 1861.)

COMMANDER LEYCESTER, in June, 1849, made a surveying excursion in the island of Cyprus, and discovered many inscriptions in Greek, and three in characters of an *unknown* language, which he carefully transcribed. Last month that officer kindly sent to me for examination copies of two of the latter inscriptions, which I here subjoin, and which are preserved in his journal.

The first, No. I., was observed by him "on a stone in a catacomb a quarter of a mile east of Cucklia,

where there are seventeen tombs in one chamber," or grotto. Cucklia, ἡ *Κούκλια*, *Kukla*, or *Konuklia*, is supposed to be the site of old Paphos, *Palæ Paphos*,

and it is situated on the south-west of the island. The stone on which it is cut is "about four square feet."

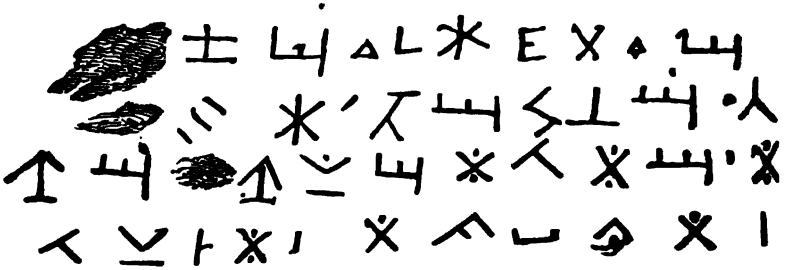
On looking into the Duc de Luynes' handsome book entitled, 'Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes,' which was published at Paris in 1852, I noticed that the same inscription is given in Plate XI. in *three* transcripts: the *first* being made by Baron Von Hammer; the *second* by M. Pereides, of Larnaca, in Cyprus; and the *third* by Professor Ross, of Athens, in 1845.

Baron Von Hammer had long before published his own copy in his work named 'Topographische Ansichten' (*Wien*, 1811, p. 190, No. 69); and he, at that time, erroneously considered the characters to be *Phœnician*: all that he says of it is, "Phönicische Inschrift aus der Grabhöhle bey Alt-Paphos."

The Duc de Luynes esteems the *third*, or that made by Herr Ross, to be the most accurate.

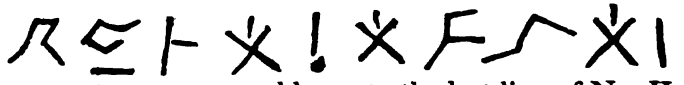
On comparing those three with the present No. I., it will be seen that all the *four* copies differ from each other in some particulars; and it is on this account that I have thought it advisable to add Commander Leycester's own transcript.

Previous to making any remark on the supposed language of these singular characters, since the Duke has published only *three* inscriptions in all from Cyprus inscribed in the same characters,—with the exception, however, of those from a long tablet in bronze found at *Dalin*, *Δάλιν*, considered as the ancient *Idalium*, *Ἰδάλιον*, and those from the ancient coins of that island,—I will add the following inscription, No. II., in the same language, and which Commander Leycester has kindly transmitted to me, but which, as far as I can yet learn, has never been published.



This last was discovered in 1849, at Baffo, *Βαφο*, the former Nea Paphos, or *New Paphos*, on the west side of Cyprus, "cut in the rock above the entrance of an excavated chamber;" and "inside of the chamber itself, also cut in the rock, there is *another* defaced inscription in the *same* characters." This, however, Captain Leycester has not been able to find amongst his manuscripts.

The fourth line in the Duc de Luynes' *second* inscription, Plate XI., discovered by M. Pierides, at Alonia, is this:—



It presents some resemblance to the last line of No. II., and it possibly may, on interpretation, be found to have nearly the same meaning.

The Duke further considers that the famous *Isiac Tablet* was *made in* Cyprus, as the Scarabæus "humano capite," figured on it, holds a tablet in its fore feet in form very similar to that bronze one which was exhumed at Dalin, and in it he sees the following characters: . These, particularly the first, are pronounced by him to be *Cypriote;* but the learned Kircher[1] held them to be *Coptic*, and he interpreted them to be φτλο, *φύλο*, or *φίλο*, *love*. I have however ex-

[1] Prod. Copt. p. 224: Rom. 1636.

amined the "Table Isiaque," as engraven in Montfaucon's[2] large work, and in the left lower corner of the border I observed the man-headed beetle, which is reversed from that figured by the Duc de Luynes, but the letters are clearly neither Coptic nor Cypriote; they are these: .

It is impossible for me to determine which of the two copies is the more correct, without actually comparing them with the monument itself. If Kircher be accurate, certainly his first letter resembles the Cypriote ; but this is originally a *Lycian* letter, consequently we may, with equal reason, maintain that the *Isiac Tablet* was manufactured in Lycia, as in Cyprus.

Besides, no sound argument can be brought forward in favour of that tablet being Cyprian, from the island itself abounding in excellent bronze, or *copper*, "æs Cyprium," as Pliny has recorded (Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 20); because Egypt had also celebrated *copper mines*, which she worked from a very early period, near Wadi Maghara, in the Sinaic Peninsula.

At first, on looking at the characters in No. I., I saw that they were not the cuneiform letters of the *Assyrian* inscriptions, but that they seemed to bear a greater resemblance to those of Fellows's *Lycian* monuments, two or three being probably *Phœnician;* and, on referring to the Duc de Luynes' work, I ascertained that they were supposed by him to belong to a language which he terms "Cypriote," and is compounded of the two latter, together with many *Egyptian* letters.

The island of Cyprus having been subject to the Phœnicians at a very early period, then to the Egyptians for a long time, and afterwards to the Persians,

[2] Plate 138, p. 340, vol. ii. 'L'Antiquité Expliquée,' Paris, 1719.

it is to be expected that traces of those nations[3] remained in the dialect, or language, of the island; and moreover, the character of the people was always *Asiatic* rather than Grecian.

The Duke gives a *Cypriote* alphabet at p. 45 of his work, and in it compares the letters with those of the Phœnician, Lycian, and Egyptian languages. He likewise enumerates that it contains seven Phœnician characters, twelve Lycian, and twenty-seven Egyptian.

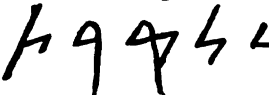
He has *not* attempted any *interpretation* of the inscriptions, but he suggests, that since No. I. is, according to the common tradition, cut upon a tomb of a *Queen*, the chamber or sepulchral grotto being called *ὁ Σπήλαιος τῆς Ῥήγινας*,—the last word being the Latin *Reginæ*, in Greek letters,—the *first* line ought to set forth her titles and proper names, and in the *third* line her father's and her husband's names should occur; although this is mere conjecture, arising from the Duke's great acquaintance with Phœnician and other oriental inscriptions.

But I should mention that there is the following letter, ⊢┤, occurring only once in the third line of his *second* inscription, in Plate XI., which was copied by M. Pierides, (a gentleman of Larnica, who was afterwards "employed to render assistance to Captain Leycester's survey,") from a place called *Alonia tou Episcopu*, *τὰ Ἀλώνια τοῦ Ἐπίσκοποῦ*, which the Duke thinks (p. 52) must be *incorrect*, and he cannot determine it. This letter fortunately is found to be present several times in the inscription No. II., here copied by Captain Leycester, and consequently it is *correct* in the former one, as made by M. Pierides.

In the long bronze tablet dug up at Dalin, this

[3] *Vide* Herod. vii. cap. 90.

letter 𐤌 is frequent, and it is for this, I apprehend that the Duke thinks 𐤋𐤌 to be intended, or reversed and incorrectly transcribed; but, as it occurs often in No. II., it is doubtless accurate. The letter 𐤋𐤌 would seem to be Phœnician, and signifies *m*. This will be apparent by referring to Herr Rödiger's paper on Phœnician Inscriptions, published in Ross's 'Hellenika' (1 Band, 2 pt. pp. 118–21). In one found in the church of St. Antony, in the village *Cellia* (τὰ Κελλιά), to the north of Citium, in Cyprus, given in that work at p. 120, in the third line, this word occurs,

 which is written in Hebrew,

מלקרת *Milkarth*. The whole inscription is thus rendered:—

"The Atahar, daughter of Abd-Eschmun the judge, the wife of Gad-*Milkarth*, son of Binchodesch, son of Gad-*Milkarth*, son of Eschmun-ijjer."

This shows that these *Phœnician* inscriptions are usually a mere collection of proper names, sometimes with the addition of high-sounding titles. And we may safely conclude that the *Cypriote* inscriptions are in these respects similar, and consequently likely to afford little information to compensate for the trouble of investigating them. Many of these Phœnician inscriptions from the island of Cyprus have been long published in Pococke's Travels, in Plate 33, which he terms "Inscriptiones Citienses." That traveller, mentioning Larnica, states that there have been found many inscriptions "in an *unintelligible* character, which I suppose is the ancient *Phœnician*."[4] Larnica stands near the

[4] 'Description of the East,' vol. ii. p. 213, plate 33, where in many as in Nos. 32 and 33, the same letter *m* is given.

site of the very ancient *Citium*, and Cicero expressly writes, "Cittiæos . . . e Phœniciâ profectos." (De Fin. iv. 20.)

The Duc de Luynes has also added a ground-plan of the grotto near Cucklia, which is taken from that originally made by Professor Ross, and engraved in *plate* 28 of *Gerhard's* 'Archäologische Zeitung,' for 1851. This sepulchral grotto is there entitled "*Phönicische Gräber* auf Cypern," by Ross,[5] who has elsewhere ('Reisen nach Cypern,' etc., p. 182, n. 27: Halle, 1852) observed on the inscription No. I., "Die Inschrift weicht von der gewöhnlichen *Phönicischen* Schrift ganzab, und erinnert sehr an die *Lycischen* Buchstaben"—the inscription differs entirely from the ordinary *Phœnician* writing, and greatly approaches the Lycian characters.

The interpretation of the *Cypriote* tongue or dialect, I fear, cannot be made out with certainty until more inscriptions shall have been brought to light, and among which we may reasonably hope that a *bilingual* one—either Phœnician and Cypriote, or Greek and Cypriote—may be discovered.

The other inscriptions, about twenty in number, which I have received from Commander Leycester, are all Greek, with the *exception* of a sepulchral one in *Latin* from Baffo, apparently of mediæval times; it relates to a "Peter, Bishop of New Paphos" (*Pap. Neæ*).

Most of the *Greek* inscriptions have already appeared in Böckh's or Ross's works, but three or four, being of

[5] These works have just appeared in a separate volume, published at Leipsic since October 28, 1861. See Ludwig Ross's 'Archäologische Aufsätze,' pt. 2; and for the inscription No. I., *vide* Atlas, plate IX., fig. 2, but this somewhat differs from my copy.—*J. H.*, April 21, 1862.

much importance, I will here add, with my own translations.

At *Cucklia*, on a stone under a tree close to the church of Katoliki:—

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙΠΑΦΙΑΙ
ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
ΟΑΡΧΟΣΤΩΝΚΙΝΥΡΑΔΩΝ
ΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗΕΥΝΙΚΗ
ΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ
ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝ

"To the Paphian Venus,
Democrates (the son) of Ptolemy,
The Chief of the Cinyradæ,
And (his) wife Eunice
(Dedicate) their daughter
Arista."

This dedication of his daughter to Venus Paphia, the—

"Diva potens Cypri,"

is of great interest, as the father Democrates is termed "the Chief of the Cinyradæ," who were the priests of that famed goddess.

Cinyras, the supposed father of Adonis, beloved by Venus, having been the founder of Palæ Paphos, and the first king of Cyprus, his descendants were distinguished with being made the priests of the Paphian Venus, and from him those high-priests continued to be styled "Cinyradæ." Cinyras is reputed to have dedicated that very ancient temple which Tacitus speaks of as "Cyprii delubrum . . . vetustissimum, Paphiæ Veneri."[6] Again he writes "a Cinyrâ sacratum templum," and he expressly mentions a priest of the goddess as "Cinyrades sacerdos."[7]

[6] Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 62. [7] Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 3.

Even in the early time of Homer, the shrine of Venus at Paphos was renowned:—

Ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη,
Ἐς Πάφον· ἔνθα δὲ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις.
Ἔνθα δὲ μιν Χάριτες λοῦσαν.[8]

And thus Euripides:—

Ἱκοίμαν ποτὶ τὰν Κύπρον,
Νᾶσον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας
Ἵνα θελξίφρονες νέμον—
Ται θνατοῖσιν Ἔρωτες·
Πάφον θ'.[9]

Tacitus also records that Titus, just on the death of Galba, the emperor, visited Paphus,[10] and consulted the oracle of Venus.[11] This took place early in A.D. 69, probably towards the end of January, or in the beginning of February. This event seems to have been commemorated on a coin of Cyprus, mentioned by Mionnet, No. 23, of which the obverse bears the head of Titus, and the reverse the temple of Venus Paphia, the legend being *Κοινὸν Κύπριων Ἔτους Α*.[12]

The *Ἔτους Α*, I believe, is intended for the *first year* of his father Vespasian's reign, for he succeeded Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, in the autumn of A.D. 69.

Since the same legend occurs on No. 8, a Cyprus coin of Galba (*Γαλβας Σεβαστος*), this date would be thus confirmed, for this year, A.D. 69, would be also the *first* (*A*) of Galba, as well as of Vespasian.

Vespasian is related to have restored the temple of

[8] Hom. Odys. viii. 362.

[9] Eurip. Bacchæ, v. 379.

[10] Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[11] See also Suetonius in Tit. cap. 5, "aditoque Paphiæ Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit," etc.

[12] Mionnet, 'Médailles Antiques,' vol. iii. pp. 671–8.

Venus Paphia, which had been injured by an earthquake; and this possibly took place towards the end of A.D. 69, and *after* Titus's visit to Paphus.

This legend seems to refer to that circumstance, because in several Cyprian coins of Vespasian we notice the legend *Ἔτους Νέου Ἱεροῦ, Η, i. e.* "the year of the New Temple, 8," which would correspond with A.D. 76-7, the same having representations of the temple of Venus Paphia.

The present inscription is, I conclude, *prior* to the Christian era. The Cinyrades, or priest of Venus, who interpreted the oracle to Titus, was named "Sostratus."[13]

The next, taken at Episcope, was first copied by the Count de Vidua, and restored by M. Letronne,[14] but since Vidua's copy was not correct in the last two words, I here add Captain Leycester's transcript, partly to show that the French savant was right in his emendation of it, and partly to complete a further portion of what I consider to have been the *original* inscription. This officer thinks, with others, that Episcope stands on or near the site of Curium or *Κούριον*, which, according to Herodotus,[15] was an Argive colony.

ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΑΤΟΝΕΓΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΚΛΕΟΓΑΤΡΑΣΘΕΩΝΕΓΙΦΑΝΩΝ

"Philometor, the son of King
of Cleopatra, the Gods Epiphanes."

Böckh[16] has incorrectly copied ΕΓ for ΕΓ, *i. e.* *ἔγ(γονον)*, in this same inscription, No. 2616.

[13] Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[14] 'Journal des Savans,' March 1827, p. 171.

[15] Hist. lib. v. cap. 113.

[16] 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum,' vol. ii. p. 437.

Philometor was the sixth King Ptolemy, and the *son* of Ptolemy Epiphanes and his queen Cleopatra.

The *first part* of this broken inscription I believe to be the following, which Captain Leycester found at the distance of "half-an-hour from the place (Episcope), on the road to Baffo," whither it had probably been carried, perhaps for building purposes. It is "on a stone two feet by eleven inches."

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ(ΘΕΟΝ)
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛ(ΙΣΣΗΣ)

"King Ptolemy (the God)
of Ptolemy and of Queen"

By putting together these two fragmentary inscriptions they would form *one*, and run thus:—

"King Ptolemy (the God) Philometor, the son of King Ptolemy and of Queen Cleopatra, the Gods Epiphanes."

This, then, presents an inscription of much interest, as regards the monarch Philometor, who was the father of the Ptolemy recorded in the inscription lastly herein subjoined. Ptolemy Philometor reigned from 181 to 146 B.C.

Another, observed "at Cucklia (Palæpaphus), was built into the wall of a church:"—

ΤΟΝΜΑΝΤΙΑΡΧΗΝΚΑΙΣΥΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ
ΑΦΡ ΔΙΤΗΣΚΑΙΔΙΟΣΠΟΛΙΕΩΣΚΑΙΗΡΑΣ
ΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΙΑ(ΣΤΗΣΕΑΥΤΟΥ)

The middle line of which *alone* has been published by Von Hammer, who found it in the identical spot: and it was cited after him by Böckh, No. 2640.

The whole fragment I render as follows:—

"The Chief Prophet and brother
of Venus, and of Jupiter Polieus, and of Juno,
(on account of his) love of goodness."

Before the second line ἡ πόλις or ἡ νῆσος, the *dedicating* party, is wanting; perhaps the last two words, which seem to have been supplied, should be τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν or ἑαυτὴν, and ἕνεκεν is to be understood.

Besides the many temples of Venus (Aphrodite) in Cyprus, there were temples of Jupiter (Zeus) and of Juno (Hera). On several of the coins of Cyprus there are figures of Jupiter, and of his sacred bird, the eagle. His great sanctuary was at Salamis, as he is often termed "Jupiter Salaminius;"[17] and Ammianus Marcellinus confirms this, where he says "Salamis et Paphus, altera Jovis delubris, altera Veneris templo, insignis."[18] And with regard to the worship of Juno, this was most likely frequent, as being the queen of Jupiter. This is fortunately proved by one Greek inscription, published in Böckh, No. 2643, which had been found by Von Hammer, at Limasol, the former Amathus, in which an Ἡραῖον is mentioned. This Heræum, or temple of Juno, was ornamented by a person named Æsimus (Αἴσιμος).

The last Greek inscription, which is, as far as I can find, *unpublished*, was discovered by Captain Leycester, in the summer of 1849; he communicated it to me in a letter on May 6, and I consider it to be one of very great importance, as it determines, without any further doubt, the actual reign of Ptolemy Eupator.

The place where it was noticed Captain Leycester thus describes:—"Half an hour from Episcope on the road to Baffo, but a little to the right-hand, on a slight eminence overlooking the sea, called by the inhabitants Apollona, there are extensive ruins, and amongst them

[17] *Vide* Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 62.

[18] Ammian. Marcell. lib. xiv. cap. 8, sect. 14.

we found the following, on a stone two feet nine inches by one foot:"—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΘΕΟΝΕΥΓΑΤΟΡΑ·
ΤΟΝΕΓΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΓΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ
ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣΘΕΩΝΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΩΝ

Which I have thus translated:—

> "King Ptolemy, the God Eupator,
> the son of King Ptolemy and Queen
> Cleopatra, the Gods Philometors."

The abbreviation ΕΓ, ἔγ, in the second line, as in the former inscription, which relates to Philometor himself, the father of the present Ptolemy, means ἔγγονον, a *descendant* or *son;* it is by no means frequent, and strictly, I think, here signifies *more* than a *son*, that is to say, one *born* in an *incestuous* marriage, and literally *inborn*—born from parents who are *near akin* to each other. In these cases, the ἔγγονοι were both *sons and nephews* of the parents. In such cases, when speaking of the breeding of stock, the usual phrase is, "in and in."[19]

This inscription therefore confirms that there not only *existed* such a Ptolemy, who was surnamed Eupator, but that he had also *reigned* as king or *god;* for although the very short inscription which the Baron Von Hammer found among the ruins of Cucklia, and which Böckh has republished, No. 2618, and is dedicatory of the "God Eupator to Venus," it can by *no* means be held *certain*, for the word ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΑ might

[19] To a certain extent, breeding "in and in" has been recommended by some farmers; but if carried on too long between too near consanguinities, the stock is found to be weak, and, I believe, sometimes proves barren. But *in-and-in* breeding with cattle is never attended with consequences so bad as with the human race.

have been an error in transcribing, or doubtful for ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΑ, Philopator, the fourth Ptolemy, and son of Euergetes I.

And indeed, M. J. Saint-Martin[20] writes of the inscription found by Von Hammer, which dedicates Eupator to Venus, "Je ne doute pas que le prince mentionné sur ce monument ne soit Ptolémée Evergète II., qui régnoit également sur l'Égypte et sur l'île de Cypre."

Again, the same writer afterwards[21] states, "Nous avons trouvé dans Josèphe le même surnom d'Eupator employé pour désigner le roi appelé ordinairement Philopator.[22] C'est aussi à lui plutôt qu'au jeune prince, qui eut à peine le temps de paroître sur le trône, qu'il faut rapporter l'inscription découverte en Cypre, par M. de Hammer."

Also Herr Böckh[23] says of the same inscription, "Sed Letronnius, Eupatorem Paphiæ inscriptionis censet Philopatorem esse Euergetæ I. successorem . . . ut ap. Joseph. Archæol. xiii. 3. Philopator semel dicitur *Εὐπάτωρ*." And Böckh concludes thus:—"Josephi vero locus eo magis corruptus censendus, quod paulo post ille scriptor *eundem regem Φιλοπάτορα* dicit."

Having carefully examined several editions of Josephus, and especially the passages referred to, I have not met with the name of Eupator. In Antiq. Jud. xii. 3, 3, the Ptolemy mentioned is Philopator, and in xiii. 3, Philometor is named, and so he is again in xiii. 4. In fact, in none of the editions of that historian

[20] 'Journal des Savans,' September, 1821, p. 539.
[21] 'Journal des Savans,' September, 1822, p. 560.
[22] "Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. xii. cap. 3, s. 3."
[23] Corp. Inscript. Græc., vol. ii. p. 438.

have I ever seen the word *Εὐπάτωρ*. So it would seem that Von Hammer's inscription from Cucklia led, amongst the learned, only to *doubt*, and *not* to *determine* the *accuracy* of the name of the Ptolemy represented to be "Eupator."

But the present inscription, by giving the parentage, or the *names* of both father and mother of Eupator, leaves the matter *without* the slightest suspicion; and particularly since the inscription itself, as far as has been saved, is entirely free from any *lacunæ* or broken letters, except the last Ε in the second line.

The "God Eupator," I find, is mentioned in a Greek papyrus MS. which formerly belonged to M. d'Anastasi at Alexandria in Egypt. It is cited at p. 544 (Journ. des Sav. for 1821), as correctly coming *after* the God Philometor, thus:—*θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος, καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος, καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν*: although in another Greek manuscript, obtained by M. Casati in Egypt (Journ. des Sav. for 1822, p. 556), this order of succession is transposed, that is to say, Eupator is placed *before* Philometor, thus:—*θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος, καὶ θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος, καὶ θεοῦ Εὐεργέτου*, which probably arose from the negligence of the copyist.[24]

The true succession, however, of these Ptolemies, is, by this last inscription of Captain Leycester, quite settled.

Little has been preserved in history about this Pto-

[24] Dr. R. Lepsius says, "A comparison of the demotic lists shows that the transposition of the names *Eupator* and *Philometor* in the Greek papyrus from the year B.C. 105, is not alone an *error* of the copyist in writing, as this, and other transpositions also, are not unfrequent in the demotic papyrus."—Note, p. 108, 'Letters from Egypt,' etc., translated by Horner, 1853.

lemy Eupator, who in truth was a mere child, and who only reigned a very short time. His father and mother, as the inscription states, were Ptolemy VI., surnamed Philometor,[25] and the Queen Cleopatra, who was also his sister. On the death of his father, B.C. 146, who was killed after having fallen from his horse,[26] his mother proclaimed him his successor and King of Egypt; and she is related to have been regent for him, and acted in his name. This inscription must be of that date, and commemorates the dedication of the young "God Eupator" to some deity, or for some public purpose, by some person or city in Cyprus, and probably through the authority of his mother Cleopatra. Soon afterwards, it having been settled that she was to marry her surviving brother, Euergetes II., surnamed Physcon, and in order to put aside the youthful king Eupator, his nephew, and that he might not prove a hindrance to his own ambitious views, the bridegroom commenced his hymeneal acts by murdering him, on the very day in which he became his father-in-law. This cruel event is thus well narrated by Justin:—

"At in Ægypto, mortuo rege Ptolemæo (Philometore), ei qui Cyrenis regnabat Ptolemæo (Physconi) per legatos regnum et uxor Cleopatra regina, soror ipsius, defertur. Lætus igitur hoc solo Ptolemæus, quod sine certamine fraternum regnum recepisset, in quod subornari et a matre Cleopatra, et favore principum, fratris filium cognoverat: ceterum infestus omnibus, statim ubi Alexandriam ingressus est fautores pueri trucidari jussit. Ipsum quoque die nuptiarum quibus

[25] See, concerning Ptolemy Philometor, Cleopatra, and Physcon, Joseph. 'Contra Apionem,' lib. ii. cap. 5.

[26] *Vide* Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xiii. cap. 4, s. 8.

matrem ejus in matrimonium recipiebat, inter apparatus epularum et solennia religionum, in complexu matris interfecit, atque ita torum sororis, cæde filii ejus cruentus, ascendit."[27]

Again, at a subsequent period, Physcon committed a still more horrid murder, in assassinating his own son Memphitis, and, like Medea of old, who was related—

"Membra soror fratris consecuisse sui,"

cut off portions of his dead body, which he sent to his sister and wife, the *same* Cleopatra (whose other son he had killed), at Alexandria. This frightful crime was perpetrated in Cyprus.[28]

The Alexandrians naturally held their sovereign in detestation, and they consequently changed his surname of *benefactor*, Euergetes,[29] to that of *malefactor*

[27] Justin, Hist. Phil. lib. xxxviii. cap. 8.

[28] See the account in Diod. Sic. Frag. vol. x. lib. xxxiv. p. 126. edit. Wessele, Argent.; and also in Justin, lib. xxxviii. at the end of chap. 8.

[29] In Horner's edition of Lepsius's 'Letters,' p. 506, the list of the Ptolemies is incorrect, for Eupator is inserted *twice; i. e.* both *before* Philometor, his father, B.C. 181, and *after* him, as *Philopator II.*, B.C. 146. Lepsius distinctly states, in note, p. 107, that "the son of Philometor and of his sister, Cleopatra II., mentioned by Justin, who was formerly believed to have been rediscovered in the *Eupator* of the Leyden papyrus, is particularly mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscriptions among the other Ptolemies, in his place between Philometor and Euergetes; and we thence become acquainted with his name, which had not been added by the authors. He is sometimes named *Philopator*, and sometimes *Neos Philopator*." "Young," he adds, "had also already correctly acknowledged Eupator;" and Champollion was right, where he "endeavoured to prove that Eupator was the son of Philometor, who was killed by Euergetes II. on his ascent to the throne." I need not investigate these Ptolemies any

or evil-doer, Cacergetes, for these and many other enormities.

further from Egyptian remains, since their succession is fully determined by this Greek inscription of Captain Leycester, as extant in 1849, at Apollona in Cyprus—which island, in fact, about the period of its erection, formed a valuable portion of the kingdom of Egypt.

## XIII.—EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS ADDRESSED TO C. T. NEWTON, ESQ., BY M. DEMETRIUS PIERIDES AND F. CALVERT, ESQ.

(Read April 9, 1862.)

THE following short paper is made up of extracts from some interesting letters addressed to my colleague Charles Newton, Esq., the Keeper of the Classical Antiquities in the British Museum, by M. Demetrius Pierides, a Greek gentleman resident at Larnaca, in Cyprus. M. Pierides states, that on looking over some papers relating to the antiquities of Cyprus, he has met with two Greek inscriptions referring to the Ptolemies, which he had copied when travelling through this island with the late lamented Captain Graves, R.N., when in command of H.M.S. Volage. These inscriptions were found about eight miles west of Limassol, near the ruins of the ancient Curium, on stones which seemingly formed part of a temple dedicated to Apollo Hylates, so named from the town of Hyle, where this temple was erected. This spot is still called "Apellona" by the inhabitants of the surrounding country. Tzetzes mentions the fact with regard to Hyle as follows:—"Υλη πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν ᾗ Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται Ὑλάτης; as is noticed in a recent work on Cyprus, called Τὰ Κυπριακὰ by M. Anastasius A. Sackellarius (Athens, 1855).

The first of these two inscriptions has already ap-

peared in this work; the second is of the greatest interest, from its being inscribed in honour of Ptolemy Eupator, a king scarcely mentioned in history; though, curiously enough, the same personage is recorded in an inscription from Paphos, published in Boeckh, Corp. Inscript., No. 2618.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ 'ΕΠΑΤΟΡΑ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ.

M. Boeckh, who first made this inscription public in 1821, at that time considered that the *Θεον Ευπατορα* referred to Ptolemy Evergetes II.; he has since then changed his mind, and believes, as does M. Pierides, that Ptolemy VI., the infant son of Philometor, is the person really referred to. Champollion-Figeac has taken the same view, in opposition to Letronne and St. Martin (Eclairc. sur le Contrat de Ptolemais, p. xxv.)

It is worthy of remark that Mr. Sharpe, in his 'History of Egypt,' has already stated that on the death of Philometor, his widow Cleopatra and some of the chief men of Alexandria proclaimed his young son king, "most likely under the name of Ptolemy Eupator" (vol. i. p. 393, fourth edition, 1859). The reign, however, of this young man was of brief duration; for Evergetes, forgetful that he owed his own life to Philometor, had the boy put to death on the day of his marriage with Cleopatra, his sister, and his brother's widow. It will be interesting to Mr. Sharpe to learn how completely his conjecture, that Ptolemy Eupator did not only succeed his father in Egypt but was even proclaimed in the provinces, has been confirmed by monumental evidence.

The inscriptions are as follows:—

No. I.—Formed of two stones regularly cut, each about two and a half feet in length and one in breadth.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ [ΘΕΟΝ ΦΙ]ΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΑ ΤΟΓ ΕΓ (*sic*) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΙΣΣΗΣ] ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΝ.

No. II.—A single stone, two feet nine inches by one foot.

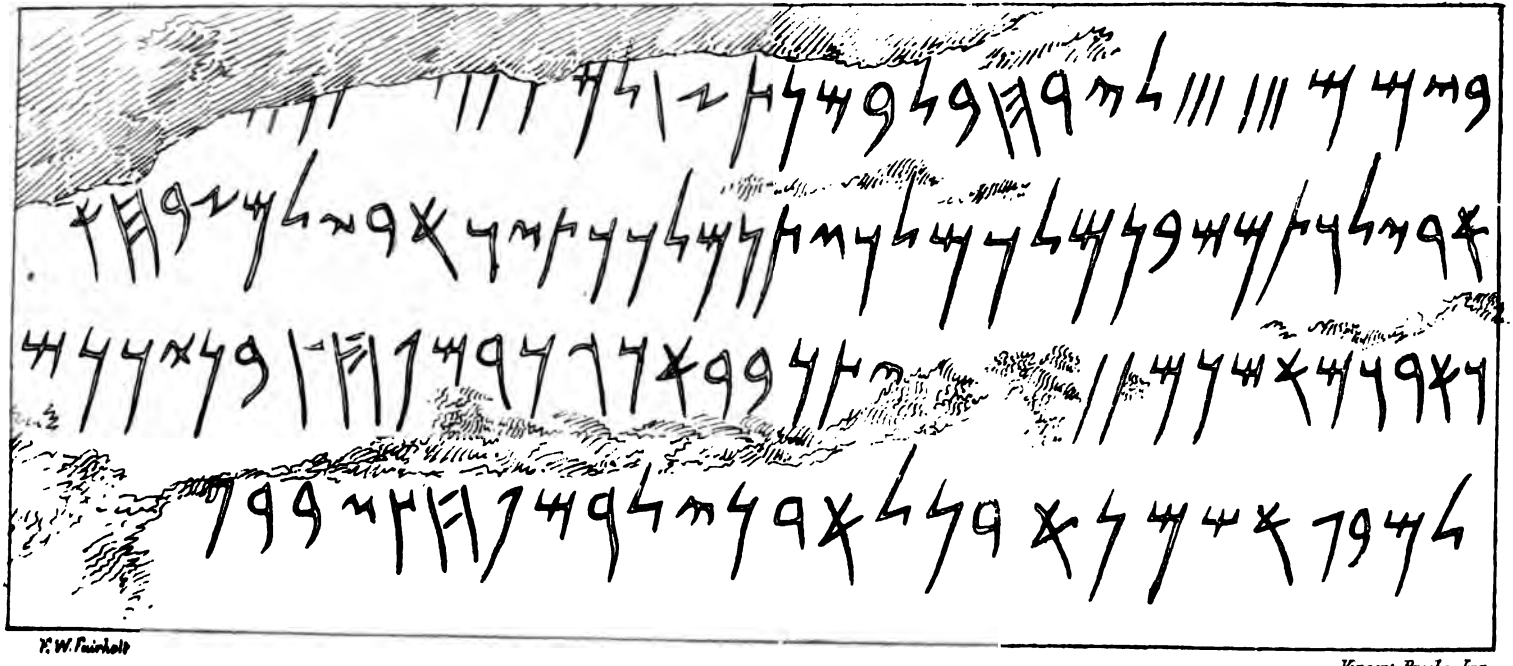
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΑ
ΤΟΝ ΕΓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ
ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΩΝ.[1]

M. Pierides was also fortunate enough to obtain one of two Phœnician inscriptions recently found in Cyprus; the other fell to the lot of a French traveller, and is the least perfect, though the longest. The one in M. Pierides' possession was found last autumn in Larnaka. It consists of four lines, and is but little injured, the end of the first line only being wanting. The French one has once had seven lines; but it is now very indistinct. Both are in white marble, and record the name of Malek-Itan, King of Cittium (a town, in all probability, to be identified with the modern Larnaka). On M. Pierides' inscription, Thamas, a son of Malek-Itan, King of Cittium, is mentioned; and another name occurs—that of Ican-Salem, which I have not met with elsewhere, except on one of Mr. Davis's Carthaginian inscriptions which I am now editing for the British Museum.

The accompanying lithograph, made from the paper

[1] There is no reason to doubt that this is the same inscription which was given by Captain Leycester, R.N., to John Hogg, Esq., For. Sec. R.S.L., and on which Mr. Hogg read a paper before this Society on May 8th, 1861, which is printed in the present part of the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.' Captain Leycester, it appears, travelled in company with M. Pierides; but whether at the same time as Captain Graves, R.N., I am not aware. In justice to M. Pierides, who, in sending the inscription to Mr. Newton, could not have been aware that a copy of it had already been laid before the Society during the last year, it has been thought right to print, as above, the substance of his letter.—W. S. W. V.

PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT CITTIUM IN CYPRUS.



F. W. Fairholt

Vincent Brooks, Imp.

impression forwarded by M. Pierides, represents very fairly the character of the inscription, and the form of its letters. I have accompanied this with a transcript in Hebrew letters, in which I have given the equivalents of the Phœnician characters according to my present belief. I do not, however, presume to advance this transcript as the one in which I purpose finally to rest; as it is highly probable that many of the values here suggested may ultimately be altered or modified. No one who has made Phœnician inscriptions his study, but must admit the difficulty of reading them off at once, especially, as there is almost always some doubt as to the exact values of individual letters, arising, in many instances, from their similarity. I have thought it right to print this inscription and its Hebrew transcript as soon as possible, that M. Pierides may not, through any accident, lose the credit due to him for his discovery: the transcript is, however, put forward simply as a suggestion of what may ultimately be much modified; not, however, without the hope, that further researches may enable me, at some future time, to give a fuller and better account of it than I can give at present.

*Transcript in Hebrew.*

(1) בימם ||| |||(6?) ליחח בל בשנת 21 [למלך תמש] [?]
(2) ארל ו תמש בן מלך מלכ יתן מלך נתי ואורלם 20 בח
(3) וארומא שנם ||(2?) .....יתן בראך בן דשפחץ בן יכנש
(4) לם בן אשמן ארנלא בן ילרשפחץ יבדם (?)

I have separated into words some of the groups of letters in the above transcript, about which I think there can be no reasonable doubt—such as those for

day, year, month, and the proper names Thamas and Malek-Itan, King of Cittium. I have also rendered some symbols, which, from the analogy of the coins of Aradus, are almost certainly numbers, by Arabic numerals.

I have also much pleasure in reading a letter from Mr. F. Calvert to Charles T. Newton, Esq., in which he states that he has recently made several trips into the interior of the Troad, and has been so fortunate as to discover several ancient sites, such as Cebrene, etc., and that he was about to start on another expedition by ascending the Æsopus, and crossing the country thence to Assos. Mr. Calvert believed he had identified the cave of Andeira, a very curious place, full of stalactites of recent formation. This cavern was first noticed by a shepherd a couple of years ago, but no one had ventured into it till Mr. Calvert made the attempt, and succeeded. There proved to be only one really dangerous place, where a slippery slope, with a chasm below, presents itself. The chief labour consisted in climbing up and descending into holes opening into chambers. Mr. Calvert had further discovered in a necropolis a necklace of amber beads, and several scarabæi, which had evidently been attached to it. The scarabæi are made of a whitish-coloured clay, and have hieroglyphics stamped upon them; which is also the case with another scarabæus of a bright blue material, exhibiting traces of gilding, which Mr. Calvert discovered in another tomb. Mr. Calvert had not been able to identify the cartouches and these scarabæi with any of those published in Mr. Poole's 'Horæ Ægyptiacæ.'

W. S. W. Vaux.

## XIV.—ON RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT CYRENE.

BY LIEUTENANT R. M. SMITH, R.E.

(Read March 12th, 1862.)

I PROPOSE reading to the Society this evening a short notice of the recent researches at Cyrene, on the north coast of Africa, which have been admirably conducted by Lieutenant R. M. Smith, R.E., and Lieutenant Porcher, R.N., the result of which has been the enrichment of the National Collection by a very considerable number of statues, statuettes, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions, many of them of considerable excellence as works of art, and all, from the circumstances under which they were discovered, or the localities in which they were found, of archæological interest.

For most of these details I am indebted to Lieutenant Smith, who has kindly placed at my disposal the letters he addressed from time to time to Earl Russell and Mr. Panizzi, and which I trust we may, ere long, see embodied in a volume to contain a personal narrative of the services of himself and of the expedition under his charge, with many details of high importance to the scholar and the antiquary. I should add, that in the conduct of such researches Lieutenant Smith is no novice, his three years' association with Mr. Newton, during the excavations at Hali-

carnassus, Branchidæ, and Cnidus, having given him a practical knowledge that can only be acquired by constant observation during a long-continued series of researches. And, more than this, that to Lieutenant Smith we owe the first conception of that restoration of the Mausoleum Mr. Newton has published in his recent volume, a work deserving at least the praise of boldness and ingenuity, even though it may not carry conviction to professional architects. With such a previous training, we need not wonder that the expedition he organized and superintended has turned out a complete success, and that—thanks to his skill and perseverance—we now possess a most remarkable collection of monuments from Cyrene.

With regard to the site of these researches, I may add that attention had been for many years directed to Cyrene, as a spot wherein it was likely that considerable discoveries would be made, and that this hope had been confirmed quite recently, when three years since Mr. Werry, our Vice-Consul at Ben-Ghazi (the ancient Hesperides and Berenice), brought to England a curious collection of vases and terra-cotta figures (many of them in fine style and excellent preservation), a portion of which were purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum. Many of these terra-cottas are as early as the third century before Christ, and bear testimony to a pure school of Greek art then existing at that ancient Greek city, being in themselves, from the cheapness with which they must have been executed in ancient times, a better test than marble statues of the local art of the place where they may be found.

I shall now proceed to describe Lieutenant Smith's excavations; but before I do so I think it well that I

should give a brief notice of what was known of Cyrene previously to the late expedition.

Cyrene, in north latitude 33°, east longitude 19°, was the chief town of a district called after it the *Cyrenaica*, and was the most important of the Hellenic colonies along the north coast of Africa. The city itself was the chief of five principal towns, the others being Barce, Teuchira (afterwards Arsinoë), Hesperides (afterwards Berenice), and Apollonia. These together formed the Libyan Pentapolis, originally a narrow strip of land along the northern seashore of Africa, and in position as nearly as possible due south of the Peloponnesus.

The city was founded by Battus and a number of Dorian colonists, who migrated thither from the island of Thera in B.C. 631, and was built on the edge of the upper of two terraces by which the table-land sinks down towards the Mediterranean, on a spot backed by mountains to the south in full view of the sea, distant about nine miles to the north, and at an elevation of nearly two thousand feet. It is said to have derived its name from Cyre, a remarkable perennial fountain, which, springing from the upper terrace at about one thousand eight hundred feet above the sea, flows thence to the Mediterranean, through a ravine of great beauty. This fountain the Greeks naturally dedicated to Apollo: Callimachus, himself a native of the city and a descendant of her founder, speaking of it in one of his hymns as *Ἀπόλλωνος κρήνη* (Hymn. in Apoll. 88). A later mythology connected the fountain with the god, and related how Cyrene, a Thessalian nymph, beloved of Apollo, was carried by him to Africa, in a chariot drawn by swans. (Müller, Dorier, ii. 3, § 7.)

I need not enter into a history of this famous colony: it will probably suffice if I state that the first Cyrenian dynasty lasted from B.C. 630 to about B.C. 430, and that during this period a much closer connection subsisted between the colonists and the native Libyans than was usually the case in other Greek settlements. Herodotus himself states that the Libyans imitated the customs of the Greeks, and that the population soon obtained a large admixture of Libyan blood, by the intermarriage of the two races. (Her. iv. 170, 186–189. Grote, iv. 53.)

On the overthrow of the Battiadæ a republic was established, of the constitution of which we have a few notes in the 'Politics' of Aristotle; we know further that it was not managed well, and that the chief power in a few years fell into the hands of a succession of *τύραννοι*.

As an evidence of the extent to which art was cultivated at Cyrene, we have evidence from the coins of that city and the neighbouring town of Barce (now El-Merdj). Of these the earliest certainly ascend to the first days of the republic, even if they were not struck by one or other of its last kings. The head on the obverse represents that of Jupiter Ammon, and, on the reverse, is the Silphium,—the Narthex or Assafœtida plant,—the staple trade of ancient Cyrene. This plant still exists, and is considered dangerous food for animals which have not been seasoned to it.

In the time of Alexander the people concluded a treaty with that monarch, and after his death the whole country became a dependency of Egypt, and finally a province of the Roman Empire.

Its decay seems to have dated from its subjection to

the Græco-Egyptian dynasty of the Ptolemies, as those rulers greatly favoured the port of Cyrene, Apollonia, now Marsa el Sousa. During the height of its power, we know, from ancient authorities, that the commerce of Cyrene was very extensive with Greece and Egypt in *Silphium*, and to this, as we have seen, the coins bear direct testimony, this plant being the invariable type. I may further remark, that a very curious vase exists in the collection of the *Bibliothèque* at Paris, with a representation on it of the King Arcesilaus presiding over the sale of the assafœtida; we perceive on it the scales used for weighing it, etc., and the names of the personages present are written over them. On the other hand, the commercial relations of Cyrene with Carthage were always on a footing of great distrust, and the trade along its west frontier was almost entirely conducted by smuggling.

Cyrene was also celebrated as the birthplace or residence of many men of eminence. As early as Herodotus (iii. 131), it was famous for its physicians; it gave its name to a philosophic sect founded by one of its sons, Aristippus; another, Carneades, created the third or New Academy at Athens; while it could justly boast of one of its sons, the chief singer among the minor poets of Greece, Callimachus, and of the well-known rhetorician Synesius, the Christian Bishop of Apollonia.

Besides these more general facts which we may gather from ancient history, it was further known, through the visits of modern travellers, that, though much defaced, there were still extensive ruins of the ancient town *in situ*, among which could be traced the course of several streets, and the foundations of temples, theatres, and tombs. Many fragments of sculpture were known

to be still visible, though for the most part sadly injured by the hand of man or the corroding action of the weather, to which, owing to its position on a mountainous spur projecting into the Mediterranean, Cyrene would seem to have been peculiarly exposed.

On the face of the terrace on which the city is built, is a vast subterraneous necropolis, and the ancient road connecting Cyrene with its port, Apollonia, still exists. Many of its ruins, so far as they could be examined superficially, have been described, at greater or less length, in the works of Della Cella, Pacho, Beechey, or Barth.

It was natural therefore to expect, that should the time ever arrive when systematic excavations could be carried on, such labours would not prove fruitless, and that the result would be the discovery of a collection of ancient monuments worthy of being conveyed to this country. How well this expectation has been fulfilled I shall now endeavour to demonstrate, by reading such portions of Lieutenant Smith's dispatches as describe the course he pursued, and the progress of his researches. In doing so, however, I can do hardly more than indicate the more important monuments he has discovered, as time would fail me to perform this duty as fully as I should myself wish.

Lieutenants Smith and Porcher left Malta on November 19, 1860, in H.M.S. gunboat 'Boxer,' and proceeded to Tripoli for the purpose of having an interview with the Pacha, and of obtaining the necessary letters addressed to his Caimacan at Ben-Ghazi; these they found had already been sent on by Her Majesty's Consul-General, Colonel Herman They accordingly left Tripoli on November 25, and reached Ben-Ghazi under

sail on the 30th, their original intention having been to have gone first to Derna (the ancient Darnis). The late deeply-regretted Vice-Consul Crowe, however, strongly advised them to make Ben-Ghazi their starting-point, as otherwise there would be much difficulty in procuring the requisite camels and horses; add to which the anchorage at Derna is much exposed, and very unsafe in winter for shipping of any size.

After a detention of twelve days, spent in procuring fit means of conveyance, the travellers started from Ben-Ghazi on December 12, with a small caravan consisting of seventeen men, ten camels, and seven horses. They were accompanied by Mr. G. Cesareo, the Chancelier of the Consulate, who, from his knowledge of the language and people of the country, proved an invaluable assistant to them. Mr. Vice-Consul Crowe had also taken the opportunity of a number of Arab chiefs being at the time at Ben-Ghazi, to impress upon them the importance of treating Lieutenant Smith and his party with due consideration, a course the more necessary as they had determined to take no soldiers with them, and to rely entirely upon the respect generally felt by the Arabs for the English name.

As the firman gave them authority to excavate and remove any antiquities they might find, they engaged the services of four blacks at Ben-Ghazi; these, with a few tools and some tents from the Government stores at Malta, formed their whole outfit.

The journey from Ben-Ghazi occupied twelve days, the ground being slippery after a heavy fall of rain. The country is remarkably fine the whole way, and the scenery generally of a very pleasing description, its character not unfrequently remind them of an extensive

park in England. The population was small in proportion to the extent of country, only three or four Bedouin encampments having been noticed on the way, which, by the circuitous route they took, could not be less than a hundred and eighty miles. Almost all the soil seems well adapted for cultivation, although only a small portion is ploughed by the Arabs: when, however, there is the usual amount of rain in winter, this portion yields a plentiful harvest of corn. No means whatever are made use of by the Arabs for storing the winter rains, hence in summer they are obliged to drive their flocks long distances to obtain water, and many extensive and beautiful plains are then absolutely deserted. After a dry winter the Arabs are reduced almost to starvation, by the failure of the crops and the death of the cattle, which form their sole property.

About halfway from Ben-Ghazi, Lieutenant Smith halted for two days at Al-Merdj (the ancient Barca), which, if we may judge from the excellence and beauty of its coins, must in the days of its greatness have been a successful rival to Cyrene itself in the production of works of art. It is now one of the two Turkish military forts in the Cyrenaica, Ghegheb being the other. At these, small garrisons of about a hundred men each are maintained. The chief object of the *Mudirs*, or rulers of these castles, seems to be to extort as much money as they can from the Arabs: first, for themselves; secondly, for the Caimacan of the district; and thirdly, the public chest. The travellers were hospitably received by the Mudir, Al Hadj ben l'Aghar, who supplied all their wants during their stay, and gave them plenty of barley for their horses and camels.

They finally reached Cyrene on December 23, in the midst of a heavy storm of wind and rain, which compelled them to seek shelter among some tombs near the Fountain of Apollo. At this spot, which was very convenient from its vicinity to the fountain, they finally took up their residence.

"Cyrene," says Lieutenant Smith, "stands on the northern or seaward edge of an extensive plateau, whose elevation is about two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The ground descends abruptly to another plateau about a thousand feet below; the latter extends nearly to the sea, where there is a rapid descent similar to the upper one. The face of the upper slope presents a succession of rounded hills separated by deep ravines (or Wadys). The city of Cyrene occupies two of these hills, so that it is naturally defended on three sides by steep declivities, and is divided by the wady into two nearly equal portions; most of the buildings, however, are on the western one. The principal cemeteries are on the face of the slope overlooking the lower plateau east and west of the city itself; all round the city, however, in a southern direction, there are innumerable tombs. The view from the city is magnificent; there is an unbroken prospect, east and west, of a plateau beautifully diversified by woods and valleys, far as the eye can reach; while to the north the sea itself is visible at a distance of seven or eight miles."

Lieutenant Smith commenced his excavations in the western cemetery, but a brief experience convinced him that the tombs would not yield much to repay the labour and expense of digging, in that having been themselves excavated in the rock, they had been peculiarly liable to be rifled by the successive inhabitants of the country.

"One tomb in particular," says he, "showed me how little was to be expected from further excavation. The door was buried four or five feet underground, and when I entered I found the tomb almost filled with long thin stalactites, reaching nearly to the floor; I had, in fact, to break them off to get in at all. I found nevertheless, that the tomb had been entered and completely robbed of its contents. The depth of the door below the surface and the great length of the stalactites, which must have formed since the tomb was entered, would seem to show that it had been pillaged very many years ago, probably in the time of the early Christians, under the Byzantine empire. We accordingly gave up the cemeteries at the end of a fortnight, and turned our attention to the remains of buildings within the walls; we chose a prominent site near the centre of the city, which seemed to be that of a small temple, with a large *peribolus* enclosed with a wall or portico. We began digging all round the walls of the temple, which we found had no peristyle. The front has a *pronaos* with four columns, the outer ones of which were engaged in the lateral walls. It seemed to have been originally of the Doric order, but restored in later times in Corinthian. Its size was only 47 by 26 feet, while the colonnade of the portico enclosing the peribolus was nearly 300 by 200 feet. The colonnade could easily be traced on three sides, consisting altogether of eighty-seven columns, viz. thirty-three on each side, and twenty-three at the end. I could not make out exactly how the opposite end, which was the front, had been arranged. A gateway, and part of the peribolus wall on the south-west side, is still standing, nearly perfect; the rest is a heap of ruins; while the position of the

temple itself was only shown by a swelling of the ground in the middle.

"After clearing out the space outside the temple, we commenced digging inside the *cella*, and were soon rewarded by finding a statue of Bacchus, which probably identified the building. It was about four or five feet underground, lying on the floor, which was paved with thin marble slabs; the whole interior, besides, bore evidence of having been veneered with marble.

"The statue is nearly life-size, and was perfect with the exception of the head, the right forearm, and the left hand. The head and left hand, however, were discovered afterwards; the whole is in excellent preservation. We had considerable difficulty in removing it without injury to our tomb, owing to our total want of any means for raising and transporting weights. While making preparations we had a tent pitched close to it, in which the blacks lived to protect it from the Arabs, whose fanaticism leads them to destroy every statue and inscription which they see. We then made a sort of sledge of the trunk and lower branches of a tree. On this the statue was placed by means of poles used as levers with slings attached; a camel was then yoked to the sledge, and the statue lowered in safety to the tomb."

The next excavations were made above one of the theatres, on the side of the street which leads up the central valley of the city. Here were found a number of marble bases of columns *in situ*, and two draped but headless statues, about life-size; one of them was broken off below the knee. From the appearance of the marble, it was conjectured that they were originally placed in the open air in the spaces between the co-

lumns; they were in tolerable preservation, but of late workmanship.

Lieutenant Smith then set his blacks to excavate a temple near the fountain of Apollo, called by Captain Beechey that of Diana; from the inscriptions, however, found on its site, there can be no doubt that it was really dedicated to Apollo. It stands in the middle of the platform in front of the fountain, in one of the finest positions in the city.

The fountain issues into the middle ravine from a channel about a quarter of a mile long, cut into the heart of the western hill of the city. Below the fountain this ravine is bridged across by a lofty and massive retaining wall, still standing as the *revêtement* of the platform thus formed. The water of the fountain, after traversing the platform, falls over the wall and finds its way down the *wady* to the plain below.

The temple is about halfway between the wall and the fountain. It is of the prevailing order of architecture, viz. Doric, and has been of considerable size, the columns being four feet two inches in diameter.

One of the inscriptions found contains the well-known name of Mark Antony.

Within the walls of the cella a small female draped statue in marble, three feet six inches high was found. The surface was in perfect condition, probably owing to the fact that it was discovered nine feet under the surface soil. The head was not originally in one piece with the statue.

Not long after this, Lieutenant Smith was so fortunate as to light upon the most valuable relic of antiquity in the whole of his excavations, a colossal statue, seven feet seven inches high, of Apollo Citharœdus.

It was found within the walls of the cella of the same temple, from which he had already procured severa. interesting monuments.

A serpent is represented twining round the trunk of a tree, which partially supports the statue, and along the bow and quiver which are by the left side of it. The body is nearly naked, with some very graceful drapery, deeply undercut, and extending from the left shoulder to the knees. The material is Parian marble, and it is perfect, except that the right arm from the shoulder is wanting, and the left arm, which was evidently holding the lyre; the lyre, also, has lost its strings in the fall. It appears to have been found lying broken into three nearly equal pieces, but to have received neither at the time of its fall nor subsequently, any wanton injury. It was fortunate, when the limited means of transport at Lieutenant Smith's disposal are considered, that it was discovered broken in this manner, for had it been entire it would have been hardly possible for him to have removed it uninjured. Since the arrival of the monument in England it has been found possible to re-unite all the pieces so perfectly that the lines of fracture are not readily distinguishable.

From the loss of the hand there may be some doubt as to the exact motive of this statue, but it is probable that the hand was raised either simply over the head or to hold the plectrum. There are many statues in the museums of Europe, the attitudes of which would support either of these hypotheses. It may be further remarked, that Apollo is represented here in a double character: as the bearer of the lyre he is the god of music, Citharœdus; while the serpent connects him with Æsculapius and the healing art, in which character he is known as *Ἰατρόμαντις*.

Five more marble statuettes were found about the same time, all perfect, one of which represents a woman, probably the Nymph of Cyrene, strangling a lion. The chief interest of this group is the local myth it embodies. As a work of art little need be said about it, as it is unquestionably very late, and of very inferior execution. Some time later in his researches, Lieutenant Smith found a relief relating to the same myth, whereon is represented the same scene, with the addition of the goddess Libya, who is crowning the victorious nymph with a wreath. Under this bas-relief is a curious inscription in Greek of Roman times, from which it would appear that it has been vowed and set up as a monument by some one, who had received hospitality from the people of Cyrene.

The excavations of the temple of Apollo being still continued, yielded a number of curious and interesting relics; among these were several heads, which could not, however, be made to fit any of the headless statues previously discovered. Among them was a colossal statue, seven feet high, nearly perfect, though broken in half, but later in date and inferior in workmanship to the Apollo; a beautiful female helmeted head, doubtless that of Minerva; and at the south-west angle of the temple, a small female statue resembling the one first found. The right hand of this statue holds a snake by the head, the body of which encircles the arm. Near the same place were found two small male statues, partially draped, and two colossal female heads; one of these much resembles the Apollo in style, but is not nearly so well preserved; the other is rather larger, and in much better condition, being quite perfect except a portion of the nose, which has been broken

off. Many other curious fragments, which time does not allow me to enumerate here, were found in the western half of the cella, at an average depth of ten to eleven feet below the present surface. It seems difficult at first sight to understand how it is that so many and various monuments have been found grouped together in one building; but this much is clear, that the temple is not now in its original state, but has been used in later times for other purposes; it is intersected by numerous walls and arches of concrete, which are probably of Byzantine times.

It must always be borne in mind in these and similar excavations, that on or near the surface all that is found is of Roman times, and that you must dig well through the Roman town if you wish to find relics of the Greek city. Practically the same thing has happened in the East as here in London: later populations have dwelt in succession on the older sites; and all these must be pierced ere we attain to the primæval remains. Doubtless at Cyrene the succession may be traced up through the modern Arabic, mediæval Saracenic, Byzantine, and Roman, to the purely Greek originals: whether many of these latter have been reached is, I think, a matter of doubt.

Lieutenant Smith then proceeded with his excavations, and completed the investigations of some ruins, probably those of a temple near the stadium. The arrangement of this temple was, he states, peculiar. The entrance is in the east end. Towards the west end there is a sort of pedestal some fifteen feet square, built of massive blocks of stone; on this probably stood the statue of the divinity to whom the temple was dedicated. As far as the excavations were carried, an in-

terior colonnade was found parallel to the walls of the *cella*, the space between the walls and the faces of the columns being about six feet. This colonnade is o. marble and of the Corinthian order, but the building itself is Doric.

In the course of these labours he discovered a number of fragments of sculpture, and one large head of good style, but much damaged, and in the *pronaos* of the large temple two long inscriptions, one consisting of fifty-eight, and the other of twenty-three lines, written in double columns. These would seem to record the names of the persons who contributed to the building and furnishing of the temple. In the smaller temple a number of fragments were also found, including a colossal head of fine style, but very much broken; this head must have belonged to a statue ten or eleven feet in height. Both temples seem to have been wilfully damaged, as even the interior marble columns are broken into small pieces. On obtaining some more workmen, Mr. Smith removed his labourers to the site of his former excavations in the temple of Apollo, which he had not been able to clear out before, and proceeded to dig below the level of the mosaic pavement which formed the floor of the *cella;* he at the same time employed another portion of his party in excavating another small temple-like building, about fifty yards to the westward of the great temple.

In the *cella* of the temple of Apollo, under the pavement, were found the following objects:—

1. An inscription on marble, built into a recent wall.
2. A small female head in good style and perfect preservation.
3. A bronze head, life-size, and very curious, both

in its character and workmanship. The features are markedly African, and are evidently those of a portrait. This head was found at a depth of eleven feet beneath the pavement, and is in fair preservation.

I may remark that the finding heads or statues in bronze is of very rare occurrence, the value of the metal having made it worth while to break up such monuments whenever detected. Moreover, bronze is peculiarly liable to suffer from the effects of weather, and cannot therefore be preserved, except in very dry localities.

Besides this head a number of small bronze fragments were also met with, including some small horses' heads, a man on horseback, etc., all of which are much injured, apparently by fire;—two inscriptions, one on a piece of an architrave, the other on the face of a marble pedestal; and a number of plain terra-cotta lamps and some small fragments of gold leaf. Judging from the quantity of mosaic, there seems no doubt that the cella of this temple had been converted to other uses during Byzantine times, the more so that the space between the pavement and rock for a depth of about twelve feet has been built up with fragments of the original structure, such as the interior columns, so as to form small passages and chambers like cellars; in some cases these are arranged in two stories.

Among the ruins around the north-east angle of the peristyle, a considerable quantity of antiquities more or less curious were met with, the most remarkable of which were:—

1. A collection of small heads.
2. A small naked statue of Bacchus.
3. Two draped statuettes—male and female.

4. A colossal draped female statue in good style, broken in half, but in good preservation, which has been reunited since its arrival in England.

5. A statue, somewhat larger than life, of an old man, which, for want of a better name, Lieutenant Smith has called a statue of a philosopher.

6. A female statue of a huntress, probably Diana or the nymph Cyrene, rather less than life-size, in good preservation, and perfect except the right forearm; the surface is in good condition. The drapery is gathered up in a double girdle, so as to fall only to the knee. On the pedestal, to the right of the figure, a hound is sitting on his haunches.

Near these was found also a female seated figure, nearly perfect, and wanting only the hands and one of the feet. It is almost a copy of a colossal seated figure which was lying near it, above ground, and which has also been removed. It is the same statue as is mentioned by Captain Beechey in his account of his visit to Cyrene, and considered by him a statue of Diana; Lieutenant Smith, however, has discovered an inscription on the base, apparently reading ΑΡΧΙΓΓΑΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, and has conjectured from this discovery that the statue is that of a woman named Archippa, of the family of the Ptolemies. It is very much broken, and the upper part is altogether wanting.

The girdle encircling the waist of the smaller one is coloured on both edges with a narrow strip of bright vermilion. It is in two parts, and has been so originally. Close by it was found a square pedestal, bearing on one face the inscription ΤΕΙΣΩΝΑΣ.

In the small temple-like building to the west were found a small statuette; a head, life-size, much broken,

and apparently a portrait; and two small heads, one of which is peculiar, as the eyes have been separate, and made to fit into the sockets.

I may add the following list of some of the other remarkable objects of antiquity collected by Lieutenants Smith and Porcher; but I must at the same time state that I have purposely omitted many objects of interest, lest my account of them, necessarily too brief, should seem too much like a *catalogue raisonné*.

Thus, among those I may particularize are:—

1. The right leg of a colossal statue, probably as a piece of workmanship, the finest fragment Lieutenant Smith discovered.

2. A remarkably perfect bust of Antoninus Pius, with the nose uninjured.

3. A series of busts of members of the Roman imperial families, Aurelius, Verus, Commodus, Severus; and one exhibiting the same headdress as is usual in the case of Faustina Junior.

4. A statue of an empress of the time of Domitian, nearly six feet high.

5. An architectural statue of a bearded Pan, supporting a bracket.

6. The pedestal of a statue, inscribed (*Γ*)*Ναιον Κορνηλιον Δεντολου*, the name of the first Proprætor of Cyrene, about which I am bound however to state that the head looks considerably later than the time of that well-known Roman officer, and more than this, that the spelling of the name in the Greek is peculiar, though not absolutely new.

Lastly. A head remarkable for the irides of the eyes having been cut out, with traces of greenish colour in the eye. The top of the head has been cut

flat, and marks are visible where movable hair was fitted on.

In conclusion, I may state that the entire collection consists of nearly two hundred objects, the majority of which are statues or statuettes; and that Lieutenant Smith infers from the objects found in them respectively, that he has made out the sites of temples of Apollo, Bacchus, Venus, and possibly, too, that of a palace of Ptolemy; and that during the period he spent in that part of Africa, he had opportunity of visiting the ancient sites of Darnis, Barca, and of several other places, at which there are still remaining several monuments of antiquity, though it may be doubtful how far they would repay the labour and cost of excavation.

Of the artistic value of this collection there will doubtless be considerable difference of opinion, and this not only as to the skill of the actual workmanship displayed on many of the objects, but also as to the date to which they are to be assigned and the artists who were entrusted with their execution. Nor is it easy to determine these questions satisfactorily with regard to some, and these the finest and most interesting specimens. Thus, the Apollo has been hailed by some archæologists as an unquestionable monument of a school of which we have few existing examples, the late Macedonian, that is of the third and second century B.C.—a period when art had begun to decline from the grandeur it had exhibited before the Peloponnesian War, in the days of Phidias and his immediate successors, but when it had not however declined so far, as may be seen in the abundant examples of the best Roman or Augustan period. The advocates of this view point out that the artist's chief object has been to please

rather than to produce a true representation; that the drapery is treated mechanically and without feeling, and that the accessories have been crowded upon it without care and judgment. They therefore suppose that it may have been executed in the early part of the third century B.C., for one of the Egyptian monarchs. If this be true, we obtain a valuable link in the chain of the monuments of Greek art now in the Museum. Thus, the seated figures from Branchidæ demonstrate what Greek art was in its infancy; the sculptures of the Parthenon exhibit its grandeur in repose; the Phigaleian marbles and the Mausoleum sculptures its vigour in action. Lastly, then, we come to the Cyrene Apollo, and the Demeter and Ceres lately discovered by Mr. Newton at Cnidus.

On the other hand, there are not a few who hold that it is a copy of the Roman period, some indeed urging that its date is not earlier than the statues of Antinoüs, and found their arguments mainly on the admitted inequality to be traced in the workmanship of its different parts, when examined by a practised eye. Certain it is, that as a statue it has great merits and great defects; the attitude is noble and graceful, the face full of sweetness, the form and surface excellently sculptured, and the drapery well arranged. On the other hand, the expression of the face, with the long hair and attitude of the statue, makes the representation too feminine for it to be included among the finest Greek works. In the drapery an attempt is made to produce a correct idea on the mind of the spectator by lines and deep cuttings, instead of by faithful copying of folds and curves. In this therefore the student will notice a marked difference between the workman-

ship of this statue and that of the pedimental statues of the Parthenon.

In conclusion, I am sure that the Society will agree with me that its best thanks are due to Lieutenants Smith and Porcher, for the able work they have been able to accomplish, often with only three or four assistant blacks; and to her Majesty's Government, for the zeal with which they have supported these officers, and the liberality with which they have supplied the ships necessary to transport these monuments in safety to England.

W. S. W. VAUX.

INDEXED

## XV.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE 'POPOL VUH,' OR THE BOOKS OF THE NATIONAL HISTORY OF GUATEMALA; ALSO REMARKS ON THE COMMENTARY.

BY WILLIAM BOLLAERT, F.R.G.S., CORR. MEM. UNIV. CHILE, OF AMER. ETHN. SOC., OF ETHN. SOC. LONDON, ETC.

(Read June 11th, 1862.)

I TRUST it will not be considered an intrusion, in bringing before this Society an account of what appears to have some claim to the consideration of the learned in literature.

The Red Man of the United States had and has still vague traditions concerning his ancestors, some of which have literary and poetical merit.

Coming south to Mexico, traditions and historical matters assume larger proportions; but it is on arriving in Central America, including Guatemala (which formerly extended from the south of Mexico to the Isthmus of Darien), we find a great abundance of stone ruins with elaborate and peculiar carvings, the work of nations long since passed away, such as those in Yucatan, of Uxmal, Chichen, Palenque, etc.

Guatemala is literally covered with almost undescribed ruins. To the east, in Honduras, are the monumental remains of Copan, and to the south-east, those of Mitla, the "city of the dead." However, it is in

regard to ancient Guatemala and its literature, I have to call your attention.

I may observe, that further south particularly, with high country at Timaná, Bogotá, in New Granada, stone remains are to be seen, but of their builders we know nothing.

Passing onwards to the table-lands of Quito, we find a few remains of ancient nations; their Scyris, or kings, were conquered by the later Incas of Peru.

We now come to Cuzco, the capital of the Incas, the last dynasty of native rulers. All over this country are stone remains of pre-Incarial nations, as well as those of the Incas; and now, independently of pretty fair historical records, we have, appertaining to literature, poems, songs, and even dramatic compositions; of the latter is the drama of "Ollanta, or the Severity of a Father and the Generosity of a King;" also the tragedy of "Uscar Pancar," concerning the unfortunate love of the Princess Ccori-thica, the Golden Flower.

There are some other poetical and literary compositions connected with the New World, which I shall have much pleasure in submitting to the Society at a future period, should such be thought of sufficient importance.

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The following is the title of this rather curious work: 'Popol Vuh; le livre sacré et les mythes de l'antiquité Américaine, avec les livres héroïques et historiques des Quichés. Ouvrage originale des Indigènes de Guatemala. Texte Quiche et traduction Française . . . et un Commentaire sur la mythologie et les migrations

des peuples anciens de l'Amérique;' par l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg.[1]

In 1857, the Abbé published a work in four volumes, 'Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale."

For the facts he brought together, the student of American literature was obliged; but when expressing some of his own theories, he could not be considered a safe master.

Before proceeding further, I may mention as guides to this subject, Trübner's 'Bibliotheca Glottica,' pp. 157–8, for details of words, grammars, and vocabularies of the Quiché languages;[2] Juarros, 'Historia del Reyno de Guatemala,' translated by Lieutenant Baily, in 1823.

I would also recommend the student of American antiquities, ere he reads the 'Popol Vuh,' to a reperusal of the "Preliminary View of Ancient Mexican Civilization," in Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico; and lastly, if the long-promised work, by Messrs. Squier and Aubin, on the 'Antiquities of Central America,' was published, this of course must be consulted.

After the Abbé's introduction to the 'Popol Vuh,' comes the "Notice bibliographique sur le Livre Sacré," from which we learn, that it is divided into four parts.

[1] Bertrand, Paris. Trübner, London. 1861. One volume.

[2] Since these observations were written, the Abbé has published the 'Gramática de la Lengua Quiché,' in Spanish and French; with an essay on the poetry, music, dancing, and dramatic art in Mexico and Guatemala, before the Spanish Conquest. (Bertrand, Paris. Trübner, London.) This volume contains the "Rabinal-Achi," or the tragic drama and ballet of the Tun. (See end of paper for some particulars of this dramatic composition.)

The Abbé says the first two appear to have been the original of the 'Teo-Amoxtli,' a divine book of the Toltecs; an opinion to which we are not inclined wholly to subscribe. The last two portions contain traditions relating to very olden times, concluding with the history of the Quichés and their rulers up to the period of the Spanish conquest of Guatemala.

This 'Popol Vuh' was put into its present state some ten to fifteen years after the Spaniards conquered the country. The invaders taught the natives their language, the alphabet of which, with the assistance of the Quiché picture-writing, formed a sort of hieroglyphical signs; these, with what had been preserved by memory, some Quiché chief or priest either wrote or dictated. The writer himself says, "This we have written after the word of God had been brought to us and Christianity introduced, and we produce this book for the reason that the 'libro del comun,' or old national book, is not now to be found (it was probably destroyed by the first Spaniards), wherein it was clearly seen that our ancestors came from the other side of the sea." This statement has no reference to these ancestors having crossed the Atlantic, as it is more likely that they came from Yucatan, across the Bay of Honduras.

The Abbé states that the 'Popol Vuh' is the first of a series of documents in the native languages, to serve in the study of the history and philology of ancient America.

With this production in Quiché, the Codex Cakchiquel in another language or dialect of Guatemala, and the Codex Chimalpopoca in the Nahuatl of Mexico, we have three aboriginal works of some im-

portance, in connection with this portion of America. As to the more southern portion of the New World, we may here say a few words.

In 1838, Tschudi visited South America, and in his 'Travels in Peru' we find specimens of Quichua music and poetry, the latter translated into English. In his work on the fine Quichua language, the whole of a most interesting drama, called "Ollanta, or the Severity of a Father and the Generosity of a King," is given. The first act is laid at the close of the fourteenth century, the other two cover the first ten or twelve years of the fifteenth century. The hero is the celebrated chief Ollanta, whose name is still preserved in a bridge, a fortress, and a palace. His love for Cusi Coylur (Joyful Star), daughter of the Inca Pachacutec, the harshness of this monarch towards his child, her imprisonment, the rebellion of Ollanta, with its success at first, his final ruin and subjection, and the generosity of the Inca towards Ollanta, form the subject of the drama. Mr. Markham, in his recent work, 'Cuzco and Lima,' gives a considerable portion of the play in English.[3]

The Peruvian Amautas, or learned men, composed dramas and festive songs. The Harivicus (inventors) composed the Haravis, or elegiac songs, an interesting part of Quichua poetry; the subject is usually unhappy love, and "it is hard to say which most to admire in them, the harmonious mechanical composition, or the expression of the effects of despairing, overwhelming grief." We may observe that there is nothing of this character in the 'Popol Vuh.'

Last year, in the fourth and concluding volume of

[3] See note at end of Paper.

Helps's 'Spanish Conquest in America,' we were favoured with a brief account of Dr. Scherzer's publication of Ximenes' Spanish MSS., from the Quiché, from which we transcribe a portion.

In the Quichean cosmogony, creation is gradual and tentative. At first, birds and beasts are created by the formative gods. These creatures are bidden to speak out and praise their makers; but they could only scream, cry, and chatter. Then the formative gods created men out of wood, but they proceeded from their makers' hands without hearts and without understanding, and they could not praise their makers. The Heart of Heaven was consulted, and a great deluge came upon them. The monkey remains as a sign of the kind of man that was made of wood.

There were two personages born in the obscurity of night, before there was any sun or moon; they made a descent into a hell. They came to four roads, one red, one black, one white, and one yellow; and the black road tells them it is the way to "the Lords of Hell." They pursue this way, and arrive before the thrones of these lords.

In this abode of hell there are many places of tor ment: the house of utter darkness, the house of cold, the house of jaguars, the house of bats, and the house of sharp knives. These two youths are conquered in hell, and put to death. Then there is a miraculous conception. Under a tree, where the skull of one of these youths had been placed, a virgin conceives, and afterwards gives birth to two children, who also enter the infernal region; but they are victorious over all its terrors.

Eventually man is created, but this time not of wood,

but of yellow corn. Four men are created: Balam-Quitze, who invented human sacrifices; Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Yqui-Balam; and these could see to the four corners of earth and heaven. This extent of vision did not please the formative gods; and a film was brought over the eyes of these four men by the Heart of Heaven, and they could only see that which was near to them. Four wives were given them, and their issue became a great people.

We are obliged to Mr. Helps, for giving us in his third volume the best existing *résumé* of the ancient history of Guatemala, which it must have been no easy matter to compile.

We now come to the commentary on the 'Popol Vuh,' comprising no less than two hundred and seventy-nine pages. Here the Abbé's love for generalization is carried to extremes; indeed, his opinions and views have to be followed with very great care, particularly as to the periods of the migrations of the nations of Red Men from the north to the south; and this is especially the case in his comparisons of certain isolated words in the respective languages, by which he strives to show rather recent connection one with another, a point in which we do not agree with him. Thus the word 'Ahpu,' at page lxxxvi. of the commentary, may mean in the Quiché, 'conqueror;' since in the Quichua of the Incas of Peru, 'Apo' and 'Apu' mean lord or master.

At page clxxxiii. begins a long chapter relative to the Caribs, with the statement that they came originally from the Nahuatl nation of Mexico; but there is little or nothing offered to prove this, either by the languages spoken in the Antilles, or by any remains

of monuments; for few or no stone monuments were found among the Caribs or the other Indians of the islands.

The Abbé adds that these Nahuatls peopled Central America, traversed the Isthmus of Darien, and gradually overran the whole of South America, even to Tierra del Fuego.

We do not deny the possibility that the route of the migration of the Red Man was from north to south, but as yet, the period or periods are not known. We have still to be satisfied whether the Red Man of America had an early origin in Mongolia, or whether he belongs to a separately-created race of his own.

Cuvier and Blumenbach give five distinct races, Prichard seven, some modern ethnologists as many as forty. We have looked somewhat into these matters, but prefer leaving the number of races of men undefined.

Having peopled New Granada with the Carib family, chapter xiii. is devoted to the origin of the people of Peru; and here the Abbé unfortunately follows, and that implicitly, the very unsafe guide Montesinos, who boldly begins peopling Peru five hundred years after the Noachian Deluge, and gives one hundred and one monarchs of Peru, from Pishua-Manca, the first(!), to Atahualpa, the last.

The Abbé states that the meaning of 'Chimu' (of the country of Trujillo in Peru) is giant(?); that they went from the coast to the interior as a conquering race(?). In this same doubtful category, very much may be placed as to his ideas of the connection of ancient Mexican civilization with those of the pre-Chibchas and Chibchas of Bogotá; of the Caras of the coast, who con-

quered the Quitu nation; of the pre-Incarial, Incarial, and other Peruvian nations: for we may observe that their respective forms of civilization appear to have been peculiar to themselves.

We know nothing as to the real origin of the Caras, but they may have come from one of the coast nations of Peru, if some similarity in religious views, language, and other characteristics have any weight. It is very bold to suppose that the term 'Cara' has any connection with Karina, Kalina, or Kalinago; the Galibes of the French, or the Caraibes of the Spaniards. Spanish authors say, that they only called themselves Caribes when they were drunk or infuriated in war.

They however denominated themselves, those of the islands, Oubao-bonon; those of the mainland, Balove-bonon.

The Peruvian Quichua word for Indian corn is Cara; but it would be a great stretch of the philological imagination, to suppose that the Caras of the coast of Peru were so called because they were agricultural people and grew maize.

I will now give some extracts from the 'Popol Vuh,' with a sample of the Quiché language.[4] *Popol Vuh* means the National Book. *Hupah Chi Vuh*, First Part. *Nabebibal*, Introduction. *Are u xe oher tzih varal Quiché u bi*, Here then is the origin of the ancient history of the country of Quiché.

"Here we show the dawn of that which was in obscurity, the work of the Former, of the Creator, of him who gives being, and whose names are, the blower of the tube at the opossum (Hun-apu), the jackal, the serpent covered with

[4] *Qui*, many; *che*, tree; many trees, or a wooded land.

feathers (Tepeu, Gucumatz), the heart of the sea, the master of the green planisphere, of the azure surface. They are sung of and celebrated.

"At first, all was in suspense, calm, silent, and immovable, and empty was the immensity of heaven.

"The face of the earth did not exist: the tranquil sea was there, and the heaven's space above.

"Then only existed the Creator, the Former, the Dominator, the serpent covered with feathers, those only who gave life; they were over the waters like a glowing splendour.

"And they spoke, and whilst they did so, it became light, man was manifested; trees and plants grew.

"Then was Gucumatz filled with joy, and he said, 'All this is well, O heart of heaven, O hurricane, O ray of lightning and noise of thunder.'

"Then animals and birds were created, but the power of braying and warbling was only given to them.

"The first men were made of clay, but they had no intelligence, and they were washed away."

Now a little magic is brought upon the scene:—

"Then the Creator said, 'Make thy passes over the maize and the tzite (red beans), and let us sculpture man of wood.' 'Sun and Creature,' said an old man and woman; the old man was the master of the tzite, named Xpuyacos; the old woman was a witch, the Formatrice, her name was Chirakan Xmucané.

"Men and women were made of wood, they reasoned somewhat; these were the first people who inhabited earth, and they multiplied, but they had no hearts, intelligence, or knowledge of their Creator. They died by the waters rising, and they were drowned. The face of earth was obscured, and there was a dark rain."

It is said that the posterity of these men are seen in those little monkeys who now live in the woods.

"Then there was but little light on earth, but there was one proud man on it, Vukub-Cakex (seven parrots). The faces

of the sun and moon were veiled. Vukub said, 'I will be great again over the beings I created. I am their sun, I am their moon; for of silver is the globe of my eyes, they are resplendent with precious stones, and my teeth shine in their enamel like the face of heaven. My nostrils shine like the moon, and of silver is my throne.'

"But it was not he who was the sun; but his pride caused him to speak thus."

Two youths, Hunahpu and Xbalanque,—the first is one of the blowers of the pipe; the other means 'little jaguar,'—come on the scene:—

"These two were Gods, and they saw the evil of the proud Vukub. They said, 'We will shoot or blow through our pipe (Sabacane) poison, at his food, so that he may die.' His wife was Chimalmat.

"Vukub had two sons, Zipacna and Cabrakan; the occupation of the first was to roll great mountains about; the other moved mountains by his mere will. They were wicked and proud also.

"As yet the first parents of us Quichés were not created."

Here follows rather a long account of the way Vukub was killed by the two youths.

Zipacna, one of his sons, was bathing, when four hundred young people, much fatigued, came along with a large tree; it was for a beam for their habitation. Zipacna carried it for them; but the four hundred held council, and said it was not well to have so powerful a man amongst them, and they prepared to get rid of him.

And after they thought they had buried him alive, they began to drink even to drunkenness. But Zipacna appeared and tumbled their habitation about them, and they were destroyed, and it is said that these may form the group of the Pleiades!

The two young people grieved over the death of the four hundred, they laid a snare for Zipacna, and caused a rock to fall on and kill him, by their magical power; and his brother, they poisoned him with white powder. The above two young people became old; they had two sons, Hunbatz and Hunchoen.

They (the four) were good and wise, and they were wizards. They played on the flute, sang, painted, were sculptors, and workers in gold and jewels. And these four were passionately fond of playing at the ball game in their great hall.[5]

Voc or Vac (the hawk), the manager of Hurricane, came to see them play. The (city) of Voc was not far from this, neither was it distant from Xibalba (a powerful empire before the first Toltecs). Then Voc mounted to Hurricane, who was in heaven.

Among the ruins of Chichen-Itza in this region "the ring of the game of ball" is alluded to, which among the Indians of North America is of a very old date.

It was indeed a favourite pastime in Peru under the Incas; and also among the Araucanos of Chile.

Without going into the subject of the popular games, it is fair to presume that every country had, at some time or other, its game at ball. Thus, in England we have tennis, cricket, hockey; in Scotland, goff and curling; in France, tennis; in Spain, the beloved pelota, particularly in the Basque provinces.

[5] We are told by the Abbé that the game at ball was symbolical of the wars of the Nahuas (ancient Mexicans) against the empire of Xibalba; but in the 'Popol Vuh' it is seen to have been played in the Quiché land before these wars, and if symbolical of war, must have been of wars of an earlier date.

After a time, Hunhun-Ahpu and Vukub-Hunapu played their games at ball in the direction of Xibalba, which was soon known to the kings there, Hun-Camé (one death) and Vukub-Camé (seven deaths). And these kings said: "What is this that is done on earth? Who are these that excite tumult? Seek and bring them hither. They wish to play the game at ball and conquer us."

It would appear that this empire of Xibalba had more to do with the lower regions than with earth. There were ministers there who caused bodies to swell and have humours; others took the shin-bones away from men, using such bones as their maces; others caused men to die suddenly. These ministers held council as to the punishment of the two ball-players, and took from them their hide bucklers, rings, balls of gum-elastic, gloves, crowns, and helmets.

When they (the players) went on this journey to Xibalba, they left their sons Hunbatz and Chouen behind.

And messengers came to invite the two players to go to Xibalba to play. (The messengers were owls, or their names were Owls.)

Then the ball-players said, "We will take leave of our mother, ere we go." They told their mother that they would leave behind a gum-elastic ball suspended from the roof of their habitation.

So they went towards Xibalba, when on descending the route they came to a rapid river of blood, then to one of water, then to four roads, one red, one black, one white, and the other yellow. And the black road persuaded them to go by it, and they were deceived, for they were being directed to Xibalba, or Hell.

First, they saw figures of osier and of wood, and they said, "We salute ye, Vukub-Camé and Hun-Camé, but the figures returned no answer. Then the kings and princes shouted with joy, seeing that they had caught their victims; and they said, "Go to your habitations, and a stick of pitch-pine (to serve as a light) and a Zig, or cigar, is given to you."[6]

When they arrived at their gloomy abode, those of Xibalba said, "Let us sacrifice them on the morrow."

Their splinter of resinous wood was an arrow, which, as well as the cigar, they were not to use.

The ball-players were first put into a dark chamber; then into another, a frozen one; the third was that of the jaguars, the fourth, that of the bats, the fifth, that of the warriors, and so on up to nine. They are then brought into the presence of the two kings, who demand the pine-torches and cigars.

"We have used them," they said. The kings replied, "Then you must die, and your breasts cut open." So they were sacrificed and burned, the head of Hunhun-Ahpu was cut off, and deposited in a tree. When the head was so placed, the tree became instantly covered with fruit of the calabash, which we still call the head of Hunhun-Ahpu.

And the head became a calabash; which circumstance was told to a young girl, the daughter of a prince; her name was Xquig; and she said, "Why should I not go and see this tree?" And she went, and said, "There is the fruit, is it not beautiful? If I take it, shall I die?"

[6] Zig, or Cig, is tobacco, cigar, or pipe. Zig is a perfume, voice, lamentation. Evidently the origin of the 'cigaro' of the Spaniards, and our 'cigar.'

Here conjuration takes place, and the dead head spits in her hand, saying, "This saliva is my posterity, which I give to thee. Now will my head cease to speak." So after a time she brought forth Hunahpu and Xbalanqué.

She goes to the mother of Hunhun-Ahpu, who will not receive her; she then goes to her sons Hunbatz and Hunchoen; these last two are jealous of the twins, and wished them dead, for they were their rivals (in the arts). The twin brothers have the power of magic, and turn their elder relations into monkeys.

Then Hunahpu and Xbalanqué began to work the land with hatchets, spades, and ploughs. . . . A magic rat informs them, that gum-elastic balls, rings, gloves, and shields of hide are hung up in the house their father lived in, and it gnaws the string by which these things were suspended, and they become the possessors.

Then they began to play at ball, and were happy. When the kings of Xibalba heard of it, they said, "Who are these that disturb the world?" And the kings sent to invite them to play with them in Xibalba.

And the messengers came to the grandmother, and she said, "Whom shall I send to the young men?" Then a louse fell on her dress, which she put into her hand, saying, "My nephew, will you go and call my grandchildren from their ball-play?"

The louse went, and on the road fell in with a toad, who said, "You do not go quick enough, jump down my throat, I can go quicker." The toad met a serpent, who said the same to it, and the toad leaped into the mouth of the serpent. The serpent met Vac, a great hawk, who swallowed the serpent. Vac soon found

and hovered over the place where the brothers were playing, and perched itself on the ball-play court, and began to cry, "Vacco! Vacco!" One of the young men, with his blow-pipe, sent a pellet into the eye of the hawk, when it fell at their feet. Vac cried out, "The message for you is within me." Then Vac brought up the serpent, the serpent the toad, and in the gums of the toad there was the louse, who gave the message.

The young men returned to their grandmother, and said they would go to Xibalba. And each planted a cane in the centre of the house, telling her that if the canes withered it would be the sign of their death.

Then Hunahpu and Xbalanqué went to Xibalba, and were told to worship the kings. They replied, that what they saw were only statues of wood.

They went through about the same ordeal as their fathers, but were not caught. They wish to stake a Chil (a lot of capsicums) on a game at ball, those of Xibalba wish to play for the head of a puma, which is agreed to; but the young men won the game. Some curious conjuration is gone through, when the youths are burnt to ashes, which, on being thrown into the river, turn into two fine young men, who on the fifth day take on the form of two old men, performing all sorts of strange things, particularly that of burning houses, even to killing one another, but this in appearance only.

"Then said the kings, 'Kill us and bring us to life again.' The first part they did, but the kings did not come to life. Then princes were sacrificed, but one humiliated himself, saying, 'Have pity on me.' And the people came and prostrated themselves before Hunahpu and Xbalanqué. . . . Then they saw the

faces of their fathers. Now one father went to the sun, the other to the moon.

"Then Gucumatz spoke, saying, 'The dawn is near, the work is done, the nourisher of the altar, the son of light, of civilization, Man, is to be honoured.' But the sun, moon, and stars did not shine above the Creator.

"The first man was Balam-Quitze (the jaguar of the sweet smile); the second, Balam-Agab (the jaguar of the night); the third, Mahucutah (a great name); the fourth, Iqui-Balam (jaguar of the moon). They were fashioned and formed by enchantment; they had no parents. Then three beautiful women were made. These had children, and were the origin of the Quiché nation. . . . They all lived a life of joy, the black people (rather say a darker shade of red or brown) as well as the white. There was only one language, and when they saw the sun rise, they said, 'We salute thee, O Creator! Do not abandon us, O heart of heaven, O heart of earth. Give us posterity. Let us walk in the good roads, and be at peace.'

"As yet there were no sculptured stones. . . . The Yaqui nation were the sacrificers. Let us go seek where to guard our symbols. And they went to Tulam-Zuiva to recover the Gods, among whom was Tohil,—we know their princes (that is to say, their descendants),—twenty years after the conquest by the Spaniards.

"From Tulan came the practice of fasting and watching for the rising of the sun and the morning star."

We have now a period when some of these princes became sacrificers. Strange conjurations succeed. Mention is made of some of their brothers who had

been left in Mexico, also another portion of their race lived to the east of them, at Tepen and Oliman. . . . These sacrificers or priests instigate wars and become conquerors. Three of them, Balam, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, when about to die, say, "We return to our people, the King of the Deer wants us above. . . . Increase and multiply,—go and see the land we came from." Balam-Quitze said he would leave them something which would make them powerful; it was, "the hidden Majesty," folded in a (mantle), and they were not to open it. The families of the chiefs multiplied, and the people were made to obey.

Then the sons of the sacrificers went to the east to receive royalty from the great monarch Naxit,—amongst other things, the art of painting and writing (figurative),—and they returned to Mount Hacaritz, and built Izmachi, of stone and lime.

Civil wars now present themselves, when the Quichés and others leave Izmachi and go to Guamarcaah (Guatemala), so called by the Quichés. This was the period of the fifth generation of the Quiché nation. They build their habitations, and the temple to their god, on an elevation (ruins of which are said to be still in existence). In consequence of quarrelling about the sale of their daughters and sisters (for marriage), a war ensues, when they throw the bones and skulls of the dead at each other.

They now divide into nine great branches, and the royalty among twenty-four great houses in Guatemala. Then follows a long list of Quiché kings; of one Gucumatz, he ascended to heaven every seven days! A revolution takes place; the people upset royalty, and forty rulers take the place of one king. There are

interesting descriptions of the temples of Tohil and Tzutuha (the flowing fountain).

And it was known then, where the "National Book," was to be found. Royalty again came into fashion, the house of Cavek reigning when Alvarado conquered Guatemala, it having had thirteen generations, winding up with two Quiché princes, who took the names of Don Juan Rojas and Don Juan Cortez.

Although I have differed very much in opinion from the learned Abbé in regard to very many of his conclusions, particularly as to the period of the migrations of the red race and their doings, I cannot close these observations without sincerely thanking him for the labour and research he must have had in translating the 'Popol Vuh,' and thus giving to the world the opportunity of judging of this curious contribution of the aboriginal literature of the New World.

It has already been stated, in a note to page 3, that a Quiché grammar has been published by the Abbé; in the same volume is "Rabinal Achi, ou le [tragic] Drame-Ballet du Tun," in three lengthy scenes. The following are the names of the *personnages*:—

Ahau-Hobtoh, king of the Rabinaliens.

Rabinal-Achi, son of the king.

Cavek-Queche-Achi (who is sacrificed), prince of the Yaquis of Cunen and Chahul, son of Balam-Achi, King of the Quichés.

The Queen, wife of King Hobtoh.

The Mother of the Green Plumes, the Precious Emerald, wife of Rabinal-Achi.

The twelve Eagles and Jaguars, or Rabinal warriors.

A Slave.

Ixok-mun, favourite slave of Rabinal-Achi.

And a great number of warriors and slaves of both sexes, who take part in the dance of Xahoh[7]-Tun[8].

[7] Xahoh, from Xah, s. the heel of the foot. The verb to dance, and Xahoh, s. a dance (a ballet with scenes).

[8] Tun, s. singing to music.

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## NOTE.

Mr. Markham, in his 'Travels in Peru and India,' 1862, mentions that a Dr. Valdez was the author of 'Ollanta,' although it contains several ancient songs and speeches, founded on old traditions. Dr. Valdez was the Cura of Sicuani, and a perfect master of the Quichua language. It is generally agreed that the rebellion of the chief Ollanta arose from the abduction of an *Aclla*, or Virgin of the Sun, from her convent. The play was frequently performed before the martyred Inca Tupac Amaru, at Tungasuca; who, on the 18th of May, 1781, after beholding the execution of his wife, his son, his uncle, his brother-in-law, and many of his captains, was taken into the centre of the plaza of Cuzco, his chains were knocked off, and his tongue was cut out. He was then thrown on the ground; lassos, secured to the girths of four horses, were fastened to his wrists and ankles, and the horses made to drag different ways, thus tearing the last of the Incas to pieces!

## XVI.—ON THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT CARTHAGE.

CONDUCTED BY NATHAN DAVIS, ESQ., AND M. BEULÉ.

(Read July, 1858; April, 1859.)

THE following paper is the substance of two papers which I communicated to this Society in July, 1858, and April, 1859, and contains a brief notice of the more important monuments procured through the zeal and energy of Mr. Davis, and now deposited in the British Museum, with a brief notice of the rival researches of M. Beulé on nearly the same ground.[1]

But before I proceed to describe the results of Mr. Davis's labours, I think I ought to say a few words with regard to the discoverer himself; the more so, as what he has been able to procure has been secured for the nation entirely through his own individual labours, and with scarcely any extraneous assistance.

Mr. Nathan Davis, to whom both the first proposal to make excavations on the presumed site of Carthage,

[1] I ought to mention, that since these papers were read, a very able paper, "On recent Excavations and Discoveries at Carthage," has been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by my colleague, Mr. A. W. Franks, Director S.A., and is printed in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxviii. 1860. In this paper are excellent drawings of some of the best mosaics.

and the subsequent success attained, are wholly due, is an English gentleman who has resided during many years in the Pashalic of Tunis, and who has been for a long time the intimate friend of the Bey or Governor of that province of the Turkish Empire,—a prince who, by his friendship for Europeans, and especially for the English, and by his ready adoption of many of the wiser customs of the West, was exactly the person who would naturally be most ready to assist Mr. Davis in his proposed inquiries.

The consequence of this mutual friendship has been, that when, some years since, Mr. Davis proposed to undertake a complete investigation of these localities, he met with cordial encouragement from the existing Government; a support the more valuable as he had, I regret to say, to contend with worse difficulties than might have simply arisen from the prejudices of the native population. Of these the most annoying to him were the illwill and jealousy of the French, who for some years have occupied a building on part of ancient Carthage, called the Chapel of St. Louis. By the personal kindness of the Bey, and the warm support he on all occasions received from Lord Clarendon, at that time the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Davis was able, ultimately, to triumph over all difficulties: the large collection he has now sent home, which is accumulated, without the power of proper exhibition, in the vaults of the British Museum, affording an answer sufficiently conclusive to the question whether or not he has efficiently carried out the instructions he received from the Government at home. When we take into consideration the extensive area over which Mr. Davis has had to operate; that he has

had to work almost wholly in the dark; and that no previous researches had given any satisfactory clue as to what might or might not be under the ground, or had determined the fittest place for the commencement of his excavations, we may well be satisfied both with the ability of the labourer and with the results which have followed from his exertions.

As far as can be judged from recent surveys, taken in connection with the narratives in ancient authors, it would seem that the original city of Carthage occupied an irregular lozenge-shaped tract of land, extending nearly four miles in length north-west and south-east, and from one to three miles in breadth from north to south. To the north-west the extreme boundary is Cape Quamart; to south-east, the modern port of La Goulette. The whole space between these points, including a seacoast of between five and six miles, is generally believed to have been covered at different periods either by Carthage itself or by its suburbs. Over great parts of this wide area there are mounds of ruin, fragments of walls, and piles of shapeless, undistinguishable masses of bricks and masonry, none of which, in their present state, reveal what they were in ancient times. Hence it was that Mr. Davis, in preparing to excavate, was much in the position of an adventurous gold-digger, with good reason indeed for believing that precious metal existed here and there beneath his feet, but with no certainty where he ought to sink his shaft. He had, as a digger would say, to "prospect about," in order to determine the best position for his future operations: while, for his guidance in this selection, he had little more than the vague traditions that the French Chapel of St. Louis occupied the site

of the celebrated Byrsa, the citadel of ancient Carthage; that the Arab village of El Malka represented the position of the ancient Royal Palace; with a fair presumption that the Necropolis of the City extended along the Mediterranean shore to the north of the actual site of Carthage, from Cape Quamart eastward for more than two miles. On the other hand, it was matter of common observation that the surface soil near the modern port of La Goulette had all the character of having been once excavated, the conformation of the small harbours near it having already led more than one intelligent traveller to believe that the Port Cothon, described as the Double Port by Appian, had left traces behind it sufficient for its present identification. With nothing, therefore, especially to guide him, it was perhaps fortunate that Mr. Davis commenced his researches a little way to the north of the so-called Cothon, and thence gradually extended his excavation over the ground between La Goulette and higher elevation of Cape Carthage.

Mr. Davis has not furnished us with minute details of the localities where each object was disinterred, nor indeed would it have been easy for him to do so. I may, however, state generally that some of his best mosaics were found in the neighbourhood of an ancient house which he cleared out, and had perhaps formed part of the decoration of its rooms.[2] This house was buried at the depth of about ten feet below the present

[2] I regret to say that Mr. Davis's work on 'Carthage and its Remains,' published more than a year subsequent to the reading of this paper, has not thrown the light we anticipated on the course of his excavations. Although we have occasional notices of the discoveries he made, the student will find himself, on reading it, immersed in a

soil, and still exhibited on its walls traces of fresco painting. Some, too, of the walls were lined with plain slabs of marble; others were found in the neighbourhood of what Mr. Davis has called the temple of Chronos or Saturn, his description of which shows that its structure must have been very peculiar. "It was," says he, "a square edifice on forty-eight pilasters, divided into four courts, arranged as follows:—Outside were twelve pilasters of very massive masonry; within this was another court surrounded by twelve pilasters of lighter construction; both these first courts were square. Then within the second was a third, with twelve pilasters arranged circularly; and then again a fourth court similarly constructed. At a depth of twenty-five feet below the central court was found a quantity of mosaics covered with geometrical designs."

Others, again, were on an elevation facing the modern fort on the presumed site of the temple of Æsculapius. On this spot were found four tombs at the depth of five feet below the present surface, and at nine feet below these again a number of mosaics.

Over many of these mosaics, Mr. Davis found great quantities of cinders and charcoal, showing clearly by what agency the buildings they once adorned had been destroyed.

Besides these more strictly Carthaginian relics, Mr. Davis has sent home some fine mosaics and a few inscriptions from the site of Utica. They were, I believe,

wondrous haze, from which the figures of Dido and other early Carthaginian heroes stand out with a prominence extremely imaginative, to say the least. Moreover, he will not find what he would probably most have desired, any connected narrative of the steps Mr. Davis followed in his excavations.

obtained by the assistance of the officers of H.M.S. Harpy, but I am not certain whether Mr. Davis in person conducted the excavations made there.

I will now proceed to give some details relative to the objects which are now in the British Museum.

The collection of ancient monuments, which it has been Mr. Davis's good fortune to disinter and to forward to this country, consists principally of three classes:—

1. Mosaic pavements.
2. Statues and fragments of statues.
3. Inscribed stones in the Carthaginian or Phœnician language and character.

As it would be impossible for me to give a detailed account of each of these objects, I propose to select for description a few of the more remarkable of each class.

### 1. *Mosaics.*

Before, however, I describe some of these, it may perhaps be well to state that in Rome this method of decorating the floors of houses appears not to have been in use till the time of Sylla, who, according to Pliny, laid down the first in a temple of Fortune which he built at Prænestè (Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 64). Immediately after his period, however, they would seem to have become very popular; and, about a hundred and fifty years later, we may judge of their extensive use from the abundant remains discovered at Pompeii. From these we learn that they were generally formed of small pieces, nearly square, of red and white marble and red tile, united together by a very fine cement.

The mosaic pavements procured by Mr. Davis are composed of tesseræ (for the most part marble), varying

from one-third of an inch square to less than one-fourth of an inch, and exhibit white, red, black, or dark-green, and brown or orange colours. With these are associated a large quantity of tesseræ, formed like the Pompeian pavements of red tile, some few objects (or portions of them) being rendered, though rarely, in order to enhance their beauty, by glass of various colours. The individual tesseræ, especially in the case of the smaller specimens, are generally fitted together with great care and regularity; and, when not injured by exposure to the salts of the sea, generally retain much of their original freshness.

Among the most remarkable that have come to England are—

(1.) Two large pieces containing representations of female busts, one of which is draped over the shoulders with a red drapery, but with the neck bare. The face on this subject is exceedingly well shaped, especially on the left side; in the hair are ears of corn, and above and all around are flowers. This slab is more than eleven feet long; the other resembles the first, but the hair of her head is fastened over the forehead in a high crobylon or knot.[3]

(2.) Three female figures, draped to the feet, and four feet six inches high; of these, one[4] is seated or leans against a table pointing to a tree; before her is a table, on which are two cups or small bowls and a bucket; behind the table is a tree, on which a bird is perched. This figure is extremely well done in bright colours —red, white, yellow, black, and green. Another[5]

[3] Mr. Franks calls this head that of "Spring."

[4] Mr. Franks calls this figure that of "March."

[5] Mr. Franks calls this figure that of "July."

leans against a square cippus, eating mulberries out of a bowl, behind which is the mulberry-tree. This figure is draped in a long tunic, fitting closely, so as to show the outlines of her figure; over this tunic is a sort of long cloak with a broad border. The whole is very elegant and nearly perfect, with only the upper portion broken off. A third[6] is a dancing-girl, draped to her feet in a flowing robe, covered with a richly variegated pattern. Both arms are extended and raised, and the right holds two objects probably intended for castanets. Before her is a cippus, on which is a small statue with the face well shaded and expressive. The same colours are used on this as on the other one. Two other fragments of portraits occur, one[7] of which is so far curious that it exhibits a woman's head and fore right hand, in which is an Egyptian sistrum.

(3.) There are also five large slabs containing floral subjects; of these, one contains an extremely elegant floral pattern of four large leaves of some plant resembling the acanthus, attached at the centre to each other, and the whole within a circle, and two large vessels (or flower-pots), in which are magnificently-executed representations of the silphium, or assafœtida-plant, in which substance, we know from classical writers, there was a large trade in ancient times from the northern coast of Africa.[8] Each of the pots of silphium is upon a slab more than twelve feet in length. On another slab is a representation of a large basket made of reeds, containing a

[6] Mr. Franks calls this figure that of "April."

[7] Mr. Franks calls this figure that of "November."

[8] These two vessels appear to have formed the borders of one large pavement. (Franks, Archæol. vol. xxxviii. p. 25.)

great variety of different kinds of fish, among which may readily be recognized eels and lobsters, lampreys and mullets; another contains two excellent representations of dolphins; and a third, a very curious Latin inscription represented as borne in the arms of a winged figure or angel, and composed of letters about three inches long, made of white tesseræ, inlaid on a red ground. Unfortunately, this pavement has been so much damaged, that only a portion of the right-hand side of the inscription can be recovered; there is, however, no reason to doubt that this is a late Christian monument,—the record, possibly, of the dedication of some early church. In addition to the above, I may mention the following mosaics:—An exceedingly elegant design, representing two antelopes or gazelles drinking from an ornamental fountain, which issues from a pipe in the centre of a circular tazza, and falls around it in streamlets. Behind these animals are two birds admirably executed, and recognizable by their red beaks and red legs for the gallinule, or *Porphyrio Africus*. In the field of the pavement are flowers, one, probably, the tulip. The whole has been beautifully put together, of small tesseræ, closely fitting, and is still in good preservation.

Another exhibits a curious scene of two men fishing in a small boat with many fish swimming around them; of these, three can be recognized, and are unquestionably the dolphin, the sepia, or cuttle-fish, and a species of barbel. The fishing-lines may be observed hanging over the side of the boat. One man in the stern appears to be hauling a fish on board, the other to be just about to throw the line. The whole scene is full of life and vigour, and is preserved even to the colour of the gills of the barbel.

On another is a still more curious scene. In this are two boats at its opposite ends, in each of which are two men; the men are busily engaged in hauling in a long net or seine, which occupies by its curve the whole of the longer end of the slab. Within this net are seen various quadrupeds and birds, inhabitants of Northern and Central Africa: the ostrich, the wild boar, a stag with large horns, an antelope, a panther, a lizard, a species of fox, and a bird with yellow belly and black legs, probably that called by naturalists the *Parus barbatus*. The accuracy with which the characteristics of these creatures are given is worthy of note. Thus the peculiar step of the ostrich, the cat-like spring of the leopard, and the crafty, creeping attitude of the fox, are admirably rendered, as are also the eye of the ostrich, the white tusks of the boar, and the spots of the leopard. Under each object is a line, either indicating ground or shading. The whole is well preserved, and of close, compact, small tesseræ. This pavement was found at Utica.

On another, which, having been discovered by Mr. Davis only a few feet from the actual washing of the sea, has in consequence suffered considerable deterioration, is a curious mythical representation of two tritons (or men naked to the waist, with long dolphin-like tails) swimming towards and holding out wreaths to each other; on their backs sit two women, probably sea-nymphs, one with a large flowing veil, the other unveiled; at each end are two small dolphins.

Perhaps the most remarkable of the whole series is one on which there is a scene representing two peacocks, one at each end, formed of tesseræ of blue, green, and red glass. One has his tail expanded, and

exhibits, with much accuracy and effect, the many colours of the peacock's tail, still fresh and glistening; the other is shorter, is seen in some degree in perspective, and has a bright-red crest. Two other birds are also there, but it is not clear what they are. In front of the birds are pots with flowers in them, in one of which a tulip is beautifully drawn, with its red flower, green petals, and dark-red buds. In the middle of the scene is the Latin word FONTES, in letters of blue glass, and below it are two blue streams, in which two hares are slaking their thirst. The whole is well preserved. This intermixture of glass with tesseræ of marble and tiles is not common, and we have but few specimens of this species of art in England. In these pavements, it may be remarked that this style is limited to representations of water, flowers, and birds.

In bringing this portion of my subject to a conclusion, I may state that there are only two more mosaics worthy, in my judgment, of more especial notice; on one of these are two excellent representations of the *vulpanser*, or shelldrake, a well-known bird of Northern Africa; on the other, a series of female portraits in very tolerable preservation. The skill with which these portraits are given affords a very favourable idea of the mastery which these artists had obtained over the troublesome material in which they worked. Not only is the shading of the nose well drawn, but the finer lines of the countenance are clearly depicted on the best-preserved specimens. Each head is enclosed in a circular medallion, about one foot in diameter. They are altogether six in number.

I may add, that besides the mosaics to which I have called more especial attention, there are between thirty

and forty others, containing all sorts of floral, arabesque, and geometrical patterns, many of them admirably designed, and some quite uninjured. It would not be possible by mere description to convey to those who have not seen them an accurate idea of their real excellence. I believe, however, I am justified in saying that, as a collection, the mosaics procured by Mr. Davis are, with the exception of one from Carthage, presented to the British Museum by Mr. Hudson Gurney some years since, the finest works of this class that have as yet been sent to this country.

### 2. *Statues or Fragments of Statues.*

Mr. Davis has not been successful in finding many sculptural works of value, so as to place his excavations, in this respect, on a par with those conducted by Mr. Newton at various sites of ancient Greece; nor, indeed, is this fact much to be wondered at. Even if it could be shown that he had reached in his excavations the actual ground on which the ancient Punic city was built, and this is more than doubtful, we should not anticipate the discovery of much sculpture; for it is a curious fact that, with the solitary exception of the Assyrians, no pure Semitic race has left any sculptured monuments of real importance. On the other hand, it seems almost certain that the whole of his excavations refer to the Roman, and not to the Punic city. Roman Carthage was, at best, but a great Roman colony, and we have scarcely any instance of such colonies having exhibited a great school of sculpture. Even of the genuine Romans themselves it may be truly said, that they cultivated but in a very humble degree the art of sculpture, most of the fine

works hitherto discovered in Rome, or in Roman villas, being the production of Greek artists imported directly from Greece, or the work of Greek sculptors who had settled in Rome, or other chief cities of the Roman empire.

There are, however, among Mr. Davis's collection some sculptured objects worthy of notice; as, for instance, two colossal statues in white marble, of good time and fair execution, one evidently that of an emperor, and the other not improbably that of his empress, though, as they have lost their heads, we cannot determine whom they represent. Besides these are two heads, much defaced, of Greek workmanship, perhaps those of Apollo and Æsculapius; a large number of sepulchral cippi, some in good preservation, but many of rude and late workmanship, together with some excellent specimens of architectural fragments, of good Roman execution. The sepulchral monuments are, I suspect, in most cases, of local or native workmanship, and there is nothing in them to suggest any remote antiquity; on the contrary, all the forms and objects they represent have the manifest characters of a style of decadence. They may be fitly compared with the sepulchral monuments found in considerable numbers at Kertch and in its neighbourhood, none of which are probably earlier than the second or third century of the Christian year.

### 3. *Stones inscribed with Characters in the Phœnician or Carthaginian Language.*

In this class, the collection sent home by Mr. Davis is peculiarly rich. Not less than one hundred and eight such stones are now in England, all of them

discovered in the neighbourhood of Carthage, though not all actually excavated by Mr. Davis, a few of them having been found some years since by a German architect, M. Honegger, who resided at Tunis, and from whom they passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Reade, formerly English Consul at that place. They may be arranged in two classes, (1) Phœnician, (2) Late-Phœnician; the distinction between them being chiefly in the mode of writing the characters,—the Phœnician letters being generally clear and sharply executed; the Late-Phœnician, on the other hand, being exceedingly rude in their carving, and often almost illegible. The material, too of the late inscriptions is frequently a soft, fibrous, calcareous stone, which has suffered much from the action of the weather. The language, which approximates closely to the Hebrew, is nearly the same in both classes.

I have succeeded in deciphering, with the assistance of my friends Mr. Franks, the Director of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Deutsch, of the British Museum, and Dr. Levy, of Breslau, the whole of the first class of Phœnician inscriptions, amounting in all to ninety. These have been all engraved and printed at the expense of the Trustees of the British Museum, and will soon, I trust, be in the hands of those who are best able to judge of the accuracy of their transcription and translation. The only inscriptions not yet engraven are about eighteen, of the class I have termed Late-Phœnician; these I hope may be published at some future time in a supplementary volume.

The material which has been adopted for the Phœnician inscriptions is, with one exception, either a

compact limestone or a fine sandstone. Generally their fronts and backs are parallel, and the upper portion of them terminates in an acute or a pedimental form, with elevations at the corners, like *acroteria*. The front is usually worked to a smooth surface, the inscription having been subsequently engraved on it by means of a sharp tool; the backs and sides are simply hammer-dressed. Few (if any) of the tablets are as perfect as they once were, many of them having lost their upper end, while nearly all of them were originally longer than they are at present. They vary from five to twelve and a half inches in height, from four to seven inches in width, and from one and a half to four inches in thickness.

Of the period when they were executed it is impossible to speak with precision; but we have no reason to doubt that it must have been previously to the final overthrow of Carthage by the Romans. Many discrepancies of style in their engraving suggest, indeed, considerable differences of date, and while the majority may be late (though not executed after the fall of Carthage), two at least exhibit engraving of the best style and time, and may be placed as early as the celebrated Marseilles inscription in the fourth or fifth century B.C. It may be further remarked, that the few decorations still traceable in the portions of the tablet above or surrounding the inscriptions, betray no Roman influence, but are, on the other hand, purely Greek. Thus the fleurons, or honeysuckle ornaments, exhibit a considerable resemblance to those on the Greek vases of the second and third century B.C. The same is true of the egg and tongue mouldings, rosettes and wreaths which also occur upon them.

The deities to whom these tablets are dedicated are invariably Tanith-Pen-Baâl and Baâl-Hamman, both of whom we know to have been deities worshipped at Carthage. Of these the former has been shown by means of a bilingual inscription found at Athens, and now in the British Museum,[9] to be identical with the Oriental Artemis or Diana, who was called in more than one ancient writer Anaitis or Tanais (Plutarch, Artax. c. 27); the latter is probably the Belsamen of the 'Pœnulus' of Plautus, the Jupiter Ammon, whose worship we know prevailed very extensively in Africa and is probably the same as the Amun-Ra of the Egyptians.

The names of the dedicators of these curious monuments (which, with two exceptions, are unquestionably votive and not sepulchral in their character), are, in most cases, of Semitic origin, and compounded of the names of various deities and of words denoting dependence or respect. Thus we find a series of names connected with Melkart, the Tyrian Hercules, such as Abd-Melkart, Bad-Melkart, Amt-Melkart, etc., or with Astareth (Astarte), as Amt-Astareth, Bad-Astareth,

[9] This inscription, formerly in the Naval and Military Museum at Scotland Yard, is valuable, as showing that the Abd-Tanith of the Phœnician legend was rendered in Greek by Ἀρτεμιδώρος. For Ἄρτεμις Ἀναιτις, v. Paus. iii. c. 16, and for Ἄρτεμις Περσίκη, Paus. vii. c. 6. There was also an Ἄρτεμις Ἀνειτις at Ecbatana (Paus. c. 27). The usual title of Tanith on these inscriptions is Pen-Baál, which I have translated Facies-Baal, following a suggestion of De Saulcy. This agrees remarkably with a passage in Apuleius, who addresses the Moon as "Regina Cœli. . . . Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis, etc." (Metamorph. xi. 238). There is no reason to doubt that Tanith was the great goddess of Carthage, and thus comprehended under her various types, those of the principal Greek and Roman female deities.

Ger-Astareth, etc. The name of Asman (the Phœnician Æsculapius) and of Baâl are frequently found in these compositions, as, for example, in Abd-Asman, Bad-Asman, Mahar-Baâl, etc. Many names too, occur with which the classical student is familiar, such as Hannibal, Hanno, Hamilcar, etc.; but there is, at the same time, no ground for supposing, as Mr. Davis has supposed, that any of the names here recorded are those of the historical personages above mentioned, though it is possible that some of them may belong to the same families.

Although, however, I cannot agree with Mr. Davis, that he has found the actual records of Carthaginians of world-wide renown, I do not think that this fact detracts much from the value of the large collection of Phœnician inscriptions which we owe to his zeal. If for no other purpose, I believe that these inscriptions —unhistorical as I acknowledge they are—will prove of great use in setting at rest the often disputed question of Phœnician palæography. Those who have studied these subjects will remember that M. de Saulcy, M. Iudas, the Abbé Bourgade, and even the father of Phœnician interpretation, M. Gesenius, have often devoted pages to the discussion of the form of a single letter,—in many cases, doubtless, because the monuments they had before them had been carelessly copied or badly preserved. Had they had the present monuments before them, much ingenious research might have been more profitably and more successfully employed.

I believe I have now laid before the Society a sufficient outline of the main results of Mr. Davis's labours, and have omitted the description of but few monu-

ments which could without the aid of drawings have been made intelligible to my hearers.

One only question now remains, to which I must for a few minutes invite your attention. It is this—to what period are we to assign this Carthaginian collection? Are we to assign the mosaics, the sculptures, and the inscriptions to one and the same date? or ought we rather to believe that while one class is almost certainly Phœnician and anterior to the overthrow of Carthage, none of the others can with any fair presumption be placed in the same category?

Now with regard to the mosaics, I have already mentioned that the earliest executed in Rome are attributed to the time of the Dictator Sylla; but besides this, little evidence of the use of mosaics anywhere else at a period that can really be called early; so far as I have ascertained, the first mosaics were made at Alexandria, probably about 200 B.C., and one of the most memorable of their early uses was in the decoration of the floors of the great ship built by Hiero II., king of Syracuse, about the same period. These are however, only incidental notices, and it can hardly be inferred from such scanty records that this art became immediately common or universal. More than this, if this date were to be strictly adhered to, we must confess that these, the earliest recorded works, were executed scarcely more than one hundred years before the final fall of Carthage, and not, as is necessary for Mr. Davis's theory, before the commencement of the Roman wars with that city. It could not therefore be maintained, even on chronological data, that these pavements are really the work of Phœnician Carthage.

When further we come to examine them as works

of art, we are still more confirmed in this judgment; not only is there no subject introduced upon them that we have any reason to suppose purely Phœnician, but every pattern we meet with on Mr. Davis's pavements occurs again and again on specimens the Roman origin of which is quite undoubted; so much indeed is this the case, that except from the fact of their having been found at Carthage, no one would, I believe, have assigned them to any but Roman times and Roman artists. Again, when we turn to the actual history of Carthage, we cannot fail to see that after all the "Delenda est Carthago" must have been a decree of short duration; since, only twenty-four years after its fall in B.C. 122, Gracchus sent a colony of six thousand settlers to this site; that, from time to time, fresh colonists were continually added to its population, till when Strabo wrote, it had become as populous as any city in Africa; that it continued to flourish more and more under the Empire, so that Herodian could call it the next city after Rome, and Ausonius deemed it second only to Rome and Constantinople; that it was for many years one of the most important Bishoprics in Africa and the capital of the Vandal kingdom of Africa; and that it was not finally overthrown till the fury of the Arab invasion of A.D. 647 carried all before it.

We can hardly, therefore, be surprised that almost everything now found on the site of Carthage exhibits so strongly the Roman type, and that these and other pavements discovered there have been generally considered by all scholars as nothing more than the decoration of Roman temples or villas, built above the ruins of the first or Punic city. Mr. Davis has

indeed argued strenuously in favour of the Punic origin of some of these pavements, either on the ground of the depth at which they have been found, or because they have been discovered near some cisterns which have been generally held to be relics of the ante-Roman city. I do not, however, discern much weight in these arguments. In the first place, who can decide what cisterns are Punic and what Roman, unless there be some distinguishing inscription, or symbol, or device upon them? And secondly, who can presume to determine how much accumulation of soil may have taken place on a site exposed as that of Carthage has been for thirteen hundred years to the constant ravages of time and man, to take no account of the yearly action of the elements on a promontory peculiarly exposed to them? I cannot help feeling that all the evidence we have on such matters, to say nothing of the general character of their workmanship, irresistibly carries the conviction that the whole of these pavements belong to the best times of Roman Carthage. The one with the long but fragmentary inscription we have seen must be Christian, and, from the general character of the work, and the appearance of the youths who bear the wreaths and fans, not earlier than the fourth century.[10]

With regard to the next class, that of the statues or busts, I have already spoken sufficiently. They even more, if possible, than the pavements, betray their Roman origin. The same may be said of the few specimens of architecture Mr. Davis has preserved. There is no ground for believing these monuments to be of Phœnician origin, while it is much more

[10] This curious mosaic exhibits a flying figure supporting a tablet,

probable that they belong to temples or public building as late as the times of the Antonines.

Of the last class, viz. that of the Inscriptions, I have already spoken pretty fully, especially as regards those to which I have given the principal attention; those, for instance, which I have called Phœnician, and which I believe may fairly be attributed to the inhabitants of Carthage before it was wholly overthrown by the Romans.

At the same time, I am well aware that some scholars will advocate a later date for many even of them, and will attribute them to the hands of a native population, who may be presumed to have subsisted side by side with the Roman colonists for several centuries. Those who hold this view are doubtless justified in urging the difficulty of forming a decision with regard to the antiquity of monuments which rest upon no historical evidence, but simply on a comparison of the style of the letters used on the individual inscriptions. No doubt, this difficulty is a real one; and I do not deny that, out of the whole ninety inscriptions, a few of

which has lost the whole of the left-hand side. It would seem to read as follows:—

. . . . . NC FUNDAMENTA
. . . . . TEM DEDICAVIMUS
. . . TIBI DETE AMICI FLOREN
. . . DEUM INVOCANTEM QUI
. . . . . VIT GAUDENTES . .
. . DOMINUS TE EXALTA
. . . FASTILANEM IN MIN
. . . CONSUMMAVIT . GAUDENS
. . . . . EMTEM .

but seems hardly capable of satisfactory restoration. It was found under Sidi-bou-said, about four feet underground.

the worst and most carelessly engraved specimens may be a little subsequent to the fall of Carthage. At the same time, I cannot admit that even these ought to be classed with the Late-Phœnician, all of which I believe to be at least two centuries later than the bulk of the earlier monuments.

With regard to these more modern inscriptions which Gesenius and others have termed Numidian, but which I prefer calling Late-Phœnician, I believe there is no palæographer who would for a moment hesitate to say that they are comparatively recent, and due to a period long subsequent to the best days of ancient Carthage. The character itself bears all the marks of being a derived one, and the engraving of the letters is careless and bad. It is, indeed, just such an imitation of the clear and well-defined letters of the earlier Phœnician monuments as we might expect to find when the people who had originally made use of this character had been for many years under the sway of a foreign dynasty. They exhibit, indeed, just such a change as may be noticed abundantly among the literal characters of modern India, the debased Mahratta, Burmese and Cinghalese writings, exhibiting a similar deflection from their parent, the Pali-Devanagri, which the Late-Phœnician writing exhibits from the more ancient and well-cut Phœnician.

The whole question of the relative age of such writings depends, I believe, on a careful comparison of the forms of the letters occurring upon them, a comparison for which, in the case of the Phœnician, we have fortunately abundant materials. Nor do I think that it is any objection to this general opinion that something must be allowed for the country in

which each monument may be presumed to have been executed. A difference, no doubt, exists between the Punic writing on the sarcophagus of Asmunasar, on the Marseilles inscription, and on the coins of the satraps; but no such difference as has caused, or is likely to cause, any material doubts among scholars either as to the age of the monuments or as to the correct decipherment of the inscriptions which are found upon them. Still less need we be troubled by the occurrence of well-known names, such as those of Hannibal, Hamilcar, and others, even if found on monuments the writing on of which is clearly of recent times; for these are simply Semitic names, and might be found on the inscriptions of any Semitic population who believed in deities called Baâl or Melcart.

Having now finished the account of the more especial labours of Mr. Davis, I think it will be not out of place if I call the attention of the Society to the exertions of another labourer in the same vineyard, M. Beulé, a well-known French archæologist, who has recently made some very important excavations on the site of Carthage, and sunk shafts into the soil to a much greater depth than Mr. Davis was able to accomplish with the limited means at his disposal. M. Beulé's object, indeed, differed in some degree from that of Mr. Davis, in that he was desirous, above all things, of reaching the actual soil whereon the Phœnician city has once stood; and for this purpose was compelled to limit the area of the excavations so as to penetrate through the vast accumulation of Roman, Byzantine, and even mediæval remains, which has in process of time been heaped over the original town.

M. Beulé's first step was to study minutely the

ancient authorities, with the view to ascertain somewhat of the topography of Carthage, there having been great disputes as to the exact position of many of the most celebrated places in the ancient city, arising in some degree from the incompleteness of the ancient accounts, but still more from the great superficial depth of the *débris* now resting on the surface soil, the result of the plunder by natives and strangers of all the cut stone they could procure for building purposes, and, on the western side, of the encroachments of the sea and the variations of level of the river Bagradas. Much in elucidation of this matter was performed by Count Falbe, who, in 1833, published an elaborate map of the peninsula of Carthage on a scale of nearly four inches to the mile; and still more, aided no doubt by Falbe's map, by M. Dureau de la Malle, whose memoir on the various points of Carthaginian topography, whether Punic, Roman, or Byzantine, is of much interest, and, in despite of some remarkable errors, has doubtless been of great service towards the satisfactory settlement of some of the disputed questions. On the whole, however, I am inclined to think that the recent researches of M. Beulé will prove to be the most valuable contribution we have received on this subject, as the details he gives are the result of his own excavations, and appear to be established on satisfactory evidence.

The first and most important point M. Beulé had to examine was the most probable site of the celebrated Byrsa, as on the accurate determination of this locality mainly depends the position of all the other parts of the city. What, then, was the ancient description of it? To omit the fable of the ox's hide cut into strips,

and the supposed connection of this name with the Greek *Βύρσα*, we find Strabo stating *κατὰ μέσην δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἡ ἀκρόπολις, ἣν ἐκάλουν Βύρσαν, ὀφρὺς ἱκανῶς ὀρθία, κύκλῳ περιοικουμένη* (xvii. 3, 14); and that Servius confirms this view, on Æn. i. 368, by saying "Carthago speciem habuit duplicis oppidi, quasi aliud alterum complecteretur, cujus interior pars Byrsa dicebatur;" while Orosius adds, iv. 22, "Arx cui nomen Byrsa erat paulo amplius quam duo millia passuum tenebat."

From all of these we should naturally gather that, whatever the Byrsa looked like, it was, in point of fact, an Acropolis, similar to those so common in Greece; that it was built on a natural rock, at some little distance from the sea, and that round it, in process of time, the city spread, as from a common centre. Probably this Acropolis at first contained the whole of the Tyrian colonists, the great city having been the result of a later and natural expansion. I may add that for the origin of the name we have the Aramæan *birtha*, nearly the same as the Hebrew *bozrah*, which means a tower or a fortress, and may not unnaturally have been applied to that of Carthage.

Appian (viii. 117) states that below the Byrsa there was an extensive plain richly fertile, and well irrigated by artificial wells; and that here the wealthy Carthaginians had their houses surrounded by gardens and quickset hedges. It is probable that this plain-district can be identified with what was called Megara, for Servius (Æn. i. 14) and Isidorus (Origin. xv. 1, 30) state that *magar* was a Punic word, meaning *new* city; and we know that a quarter of Carthage was called by the Greeks *Νεάπολις*: moreover, Carthago

itself is a corruption of *Kart-khadasat*, a name which, under the form of *Karthada*, we learn from Solinus meant "new city" (c. 27. 10), and which occurs constantly on the fine coins usually attributed to Panormus (Palermo), but, doubtless, struck by the Carthaginians in Sicily. If this theory be correct, therefore, the old town was called the Byrsa, while the rich and best-built portion ultimately gave its name of Carthago to the whole.[11]

I may remark, *en passant*, that the building of a newer and grander town beside the original old one was a very common Oriental custom. Thus we have an old Babel and a new Babylon, an old Nineveh and a new Mosul, etc.; while in Panormus, the richest of the Carthaginian colonies, there was a portion of the town which, like Carthage, bore the name of *Νεάπολις*.

The position of the Byrsa can readily be recognized by any one who attentively surveys the ground; there being but one conical hill which really answers the descriptions of the ancient writers, and which, though now of course very different superficially from what it was in the best days of Carthage, is manifestly the central position whereby all other parts of the city must be determined. Strange, however, to say, though apparently so clear, there have not been wanting some travellers, like Mr. Blakesley, who have tried to find the Byrsa in other parts of Carthage; not to omit M. Barth, who, unnecessarily and gratuitously, imagined that it was, in part at least, an artificial elevation, constructed like the *χώματα* of the Babylonians.

[11] *Magalia*, another name for old Carthage, is probably another form of the word Magar.

If this be so, we cannot doubt that the ancient Byrsa is now represented by the hill of St. Louis,—a view which has been greatly confirmed by M. Beule, who sank shafts at various intervals along its surface, and who found that the surface above the live rock was entirely composed of *débris* varying from fourteen to twenty feet in thickness, the native rock being itself an argillaceous grit, yellowish in colour and easy to work. It is probable that the Carthaginians levelled the surface of this rock, so as to render it more fit to receive the great works which they placed upon it. I may add that there is a curious piece of incidental identification afforded by a passage in Silius Italicus, who, speaking of the temple of Elisa, or Dido, which he states was on the Byrsa, adds—

> "Quod taxi circum et piceæ squalentibus umbris
> Abdiderant."

Now it is a remarkable fact, that, at the present time, there are groves of fir-trees at the back of the chapel at St. Louis, and nowhere else on the plains of Carthage; and further, I may remark that the story of the temple of Dido on the Acropolis is analogous to the story of the house of Romulus, said to have been preserved on the Capitol at Rome; to the resting-place of Erechtheus on the Acropolis at Athens; and to the Sisyphion, or ancient abode of Sisyphus, on the Acro-Corinth. It is clear, at all events, that the ancient conception of Dido's palace was, that it was the highest spot within the walls, an idea confirmed by Statius's description of it (viii. 135):

> "Cujus de sede dabatur
> Cernere cuncta freta et totam Carthaginis urbem."

It will not, of course, be expected that I should

attempt to *prove* topography from the descriptions of the poets, but we may justly allow them a certain weight, as embodying the popular traditions of the times when they wrote.

There were, besides the reputed palace or temple of Dido, other buildings of importance, the position of which within or upon the Byrsa are unquestionable. Among these was the temple of Aṣmsn, the Æsculapius of the Phœnicians. Appian describes it at length, and states that it was on the side overlooking the forum; it was the place where the Senate of Carthage was accustomed to meet in troubled times, as the Senate of Rome did under similar circumstances in the temple of Concord. It is remarkable that we have no account of any existence in Punic times of a temple to Jupiter, or, to the least, the Tyrian Hercules, though he was supposed to be the *Archegetes* of the colony. When, however, Carthage was rebuilt by the Romans, notices of all these buildings and of a magnificent temple and palace to Dido are recorded; and M. Beulé, in his excavations, has found sufficient remains to show that the restored temple of Æsculapius was of the Corinthian order, and that of Jupiter of the Ionic.

Adjoining the temple of Æsculapius, and probably within its τέμενος, was the curia of the senate, and the public library; while, from passages in Tacitus, in St. Cyprian, in Victor Vitensis, and in Procopius, it would seem that the palace of the Proconsul was in the same neighbourhood.

The position of the Byrsa determined, we are able to place that of several other spots; thus the temple of Juno was certainly on a separate small hill, which was not enclosed within the walls of Carthage till the

city had greatly extended itself; in fact, the place of the temple of Juno was quite analogous with those of the most ancient sanctuaries of that goddess in Greece, as at Argos and Samos. Compare Paus. ii. 18, Herod. ix. 96, Athen. xiii. p. 372.

Again, the town-walls partly depend on the Byrsa; for Orosius tells us, that on the side of the Lake of Tunis, the town-wall and that of the Byrsa were one and the same. Of their vast size and strength we have ample details in Diodorus and Appian, and, if these authorities can in the least be depended on, there must still be considerable remains of these works, though, like the surface of the Byrsa, covered now deeply by the *débris* of ages. No one can suppose that the decree "Delenda est Carthago" was accomplished by Scipio as literally as Orosius would lead us to suppose, where he states—

"Omni murali lapide in pulverem comminuto" (iv. 23).

The greater part of the destruction was doubtless, as we have suggested, due to the plundering of all the available building-stone by successive generations of rulers. Indeed what they have done is by no means left to conjecture. Edrisi tells us how this system of plunder was carried on in his days; the people of Pisa claim the marbles of Carthage as the stone whereof their cathedral was built; Marmol, the friend of Charles V., states the same of the Genoese; and, in quite modern times, Ahmed Bey, the last ruler of Constantineh, built his palace there from them. The Beys of Tunis, therefore, and the last English consul, Sir Thomas Reade, have but followed the example so often set them before.

Still, in spite of all this havoc, we might presume

that some of the foundation-stones would be *in situ*, the greater part of the plunder having doubtless belonged to the second or Roman Carthage; and this indeed is one of the facts which have been proved by the excavations of M. Beulé, who commenced his works by digging down by the side of the Byrsa, and who found at last the basements of the wall that surrounded it, which measured more than thirty feet in thickness; and, along the outside of these walls, the remains of a road or street, probably that whereby, in ancient times, the inhabitants ascended up to the citadel. It is clear that the researches which M. Beulé was thus led to undertake, have been most valuable because, partly owing to the great depth below the present surface-soil, at which the Phœnician remains, if any, must now repose, none of the previous explorers of Carthage have been able to prove whether actual relics of the Punic city do really exist *in situ*; all that had been done before M. Beulé commenced his excavations was to determine what still remained above, or but little below the present ground, and these could hardly be anything else but the memorials of either the Roman colony or of the works of the Vandal and Turkish rulers. Thus all the mosaics that have been met with repose upon a bed of comparatively recent origin, and, for this reason alone, could not be considered as the ornamental works of the Punic inhabitants of Carthage.

M. Beulé commenced his explorations on the western side, where M. Falbe has already noticed vaults and other *débris*, attributed by him to the triple wall of the ancient city, and which M. Dureau de la Malle supposed to have been either the prisons of Gelimer,

or the cavern where Cæcilius Basrus professed to have found the treasures of Dido. M. Beulé succeeded in proving that these vaults were neither more nor less than a series of Roman cisterns, the natural inclination of the ground at this point being favourable for the collection of the winter rains. On opening some trenches to the north, opposite the presumed site of the temple of Juno, M. Beulé next discovered two walls, the latter one evidently rebuilt, and perceived that both of them had been constructed from previous and Roman buildings, many fragments of Roman architecture having been noticed embedded in them. These therefore, he concluded, must be of Byzantine times, and probably remains of the Vandal city. Proceeding onwards, he came to still more enormous blocks of masonry, all of them, however, detached from their original places, and rearranged doubtless by the Roman architects. He then carried his workmen to the south, on the side of which the rock of the Byrsa is the most escarped, and where, as was foreseen, the covering of *débris* was the most shallow: he here met with quantities of cinders and other manifest traces of a long-enduring and intense conflagration. Curiously enough, along this side were the remains of very early Arabian tombs, built of the *débris* of former buildings, the date of which is probably that of the colonization of A.D. 1180, but may perhaps ascend to the period of the first Arab conquest of Carthage by Hassan, in A.D. 697.

After great labour, and, in one instance, after sinking his shaft through fifty-six feet of *débris*, M. Beulé came upon solid walls, which he reasonably supposes to have been those of the original Byrsa, a view which

appears the more certain, as we have the direct assertion of history that New or Roman Carthage was not surrounded by walls. The discovery, therefore, of such great structures at so great a depth below the existing surface, almost affords proof that they were the original and Phœnician works. The character of the ground around these walls showed clearly that M. Beulé had lighted upon the part which was destroyed by Scipio.

Appian states that Scipio, having taken the ports by surprise, found in front of him three streets, with houses six stories high, running along them. These he at once set fire to, some writers asserting that the fire lasted seven days, others seventeen. Now, it is a curious fact that, all over these most ancient walls, M. Beulé found a bed of cinders from three feet six inches to four feet nine inches thick; and among the cinders many blocks of cedar or pine, in some instances not wholly burnt through, and exhibiting an appearance as though the lower part of the burnt materials had been stifled, ere completely calcined, by the want of air. United with these were found quantities of fused metal, iron, copper, tin, and glass, in all cases so completely transformed by the action of intense heat, that it was no longer possible to form even a conjecture what purpose they had originally served.

Still more complete evidence of the character of these walls was afforded by the fact that within them were found quantities of fragments of pottery, and these always of that brownish colour which belongs to the archaic vases of Corinth, Athens, Theræ, and even Etruria. M. Beulé was ultimately able to determine the exact character of this wall. He found

that its entire thickness was about thirty-three feet, constructed of massive blocks of tufo; but that, through it, there were a series of hollow ways which reduced the thickness so much that the external portion, or actual defence against the battering-ram, was only from twelve to thirteen feet in thickness. Within, towards the hill and completely sunk in the solid wall, were a series of chambers resembling those of bomb-proof bastions, each of them about twenty feet in depth and ten feet wide, separated the one from the other by transverse walls four feet thick. It is remarkable that Appian, whose narrative is confirmed by Diodorus, gives to the ancient walls the exact thickness of those thus discovered, and states that, within them, were constructed chambers which served as stables for the horses and elephants. 'Most of the blocks used in their construction are five feet broad, three feet three inches thick, four feet three inches high; and the transverse walls, which are the best preserved, still exist to the height of from thirteen to sixteen feet.

Such is a brief notice of the most important of M. Beulé's discoveries. I think there can be no question that he has reached the base of the original Phœnician walls; and I trust that funds may be supplied to him by the archæologists of France to enable him to prosecute more completely the important excavations he has so happily commenced.

W. S. W. Vaux.

## XVII.—ON THE COMBAT BETWEEN CONLACH AND CUCHULLIN, IN GAELIC, COMPARED WITH THAT BETWEEN HILDEBRAND AND HATHUBRANT, IN GERMAN.

BY R. G. LATHAM, M.D.

(Read April 14, 1863.)

THE poem on a fight between Conlach and Cuchullin, is one of those valuable fragments of the old Gaelic which have just been published by M'Lauchlan and Skene, under the title of the Dean of Lismore's Book. See pp. 50–53 for the English translation and pp. 34–36 of the original. No remark is made upon it except those taken from the text itself and the notes. It is headed

This tale is by Gilliecallum M'Aan Olave.

That the father kills the son, and that his mother, in revenge for Cuchullin's having forsaken her, sent her son into Ireland under a vow never to disclose his name unless conquered in battle, and that she did it with a purpose, is stated in one note. In another, Cuchullin's wife is said to have been unwilling that he should engage with Conlach. In a third a reference is made to the Persian tale of Zohrab and Rustum; with the remark that the two tales must have had a common origin. Without examining the details of this opinion, the present writer simply compares the Gaelic

poem with the well-known German (Frank or Saxon) of Hildebrand and Hathubrand; making, of course, *mutatis mutandis*, the same suggestion. The parts wherever the details are the closest, are in italics. No comment is added, the reader being left to form his own opinion as to both the amount of likeness and the cause of it.

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THE GAELIC POEM.

*I have heard a tale of old,*
A tale that should make us weep;
'Tis time to relate it sadly,
Although it should fill us with grief.
Rury's race of no soft grasp,
Children of Connor and Connal;
Bravely their youth did take the field,
In Ulster's noble province.
None with joy returned home
Of Banva's proudest heroes.
For as they once more tried the fight,
Rury's race did win the day.
There came to us, fierce his mien,
The dauntless warrior, Conlach,
To learn of our beauteous land,
From Dunseaich to Erin.
Connor spoke thus to his men:—
"Who's prepared to meet the youth,
And of him to take account;
Who will take no refusal?"
Then the strong-armed Connal went,
Of the youth to take account;
The end of their fight was this,
Conlach had bound Connal.
Yet the hero did not halt;
Conlach, brave and vigorous,

He bound a hundred of our men,
It is a strange and mournful tale.
To the hounds' great chief a message
Was sent by Ulster's wise king,
To sunny, fair Dundalgin,
The old, wise fort of the Gael,
That stronghold of which we read,
And the prudent daughter of Forgan.
From thence came he of great deeds,
To see our generous king:
To know of Ulster's great race,
There came to us the red branch Cu,
His teeth like pearl, cheeks like berries.
"Long," said Connor to the Cu,
"Has been thine aid in coming,
While Connal, who loves bold steeds,
Is bound, and a hundred more."
"Sad for me to be thus bound,
Friend, who couldst soon unloose me."
"I couldn't encounter his sword,
And that he has bound brave Connal."
"Refuse not to attack him,
Prince of the sharp, blue sword,
Whose arm ne'er quailed in conflict,
Think of thy patron now in bonds."
When Cuchullin, of the thin-leaved sword,
Heard the lament of Connal,
He moved in his arm's great might
To take of the youth account.
"*Tell us now that I have come,*
*Youth who fearest not the fight,*
*Tell us now, and tell at once,*
*Thy name, and where's thy country?*"
"Ere I left home I had to pledge
That I should never that relate;
Were I to tell to living man,
For thy love's sake I'd tell it thee."
"Then must thou with me battle do,
Or tell thy tale as a friend.
Choose for thyself, dear youth,

But mind, to fight me is a risk;
Let us not fight, I pray thee,
Brave leopard, pride of Erin,
Boldest in the battle-field,
My name I would tell unbought."
*Then did they commence the fight,*
Nor was it the fight of women.
The youth received a deadly wound,
He of the vigorous arm.
Yet did Cuchullin of battles,
The victory on that day lose,
His only son had fallen, slain,
That fair, soft branch, so gentle, brave.
"Tell us now," said skilful Cu,
"Since thou art at our mercy,
*Thy name and race, tell us in full;*
Think not to refuse thy tale."
"Conlach I, Cuchullin's son,
Lawful heir of great Dundalgin,
It was I thou left'st unborn,
When in Skiath thou wast learning.
Seven years *in the east I spent,*
Gaining knowledge from my mother;
The pass by which I have been slain
Was all I needed still to learn.'
Then does the great Cuchullin see
His dear son's colour change;
As of his generous heart he thinks,
His memory and mind forsake him;
His body's excellency departs,
His grief it was destroyed it;
Seeing as he lay on the earth
The rightful heir of Dundalgin;
Where shall we find his like,
Or how detail his grief?
I have.

THE GERMAN POEM.

*I heard that say,*
That they challenged in single combat,
Hiltebraht and Hathubraht,
Between the armies,
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
They made ready their war-coats,
They girt their swords on,
Heroes over the ring,
When they to the war rode.
Hiltebraht spoke,
Heribrant's son,
He was the nobler man,
Of age more wise.
He . . . .
With few words, who his "father was,
In the folk of men,
Or of what kin thou beest."
"If thou me only sayest,
I forbear contest,
Child in kingdom,
Known is me all mankind."
Hadubraht answered, Hildebrant's son,
"That said to me
Our people, old and wise,
Who of yore were
That Hilbrant hight my father.
(I hight Hadubrant)
Fore, hence eastward departed,
Fled Odoacer's spite,
I . . . it Theodoric,
And of his thanes many,
He left in land
Little to sit,
Bride in bower ;

Bairn unwaxen,
Heirdomless heir,
Eastward him . . .
. . . . .
Of my kinsman,
That was so friendless a man,
He was to Odoacer unequal,
Of thanes worthiest,
As long as to Theodoric.
. . . . . .
He was even of the people at the end (top),
Him was the fight too dear,
Known was he to keen men,
I ween not whether he live.
Wot thou Irmin-gott," quoth Hildibrand
Over in heaven,
That then . . .
. . . . . .
Wound he then of arm
Thou wounden bow,
. . . . .
Which to him since the king gave,
The Lord of the Huns,
"That I to thee in favour give,"
Hadubraht answered, Hildebrand's son;
"With arms shall man
Gifts receive,
Point to point against . . .
Thou beest, old Hun, unequal
. . . . thou prickest me
With thy words,
. . . now
With spear cast,
Beest so aged a man,
. . . . . .
That said to me,
. . . . . .
Westwards over the Vandal Sea,
That man war took,
Dead is Hiltibraht

Heribrant's son."
Hildebraht answered,
Heribraht's son:
"Well see I
In thy harness,
That thou no good master hast,
That thou still by this kingdom
Hero art not,
Well away, now, great God."
Quoth Hiltibrant:
"We will decide!
I wandered summer and winter.
Sixty out of the land
There they me . . .
In the folk . . . .
So they me at any burg
. . . not fastened.
Now me . . . child
With sword hew
. . . with his bill,
Or I to him be the bane.
Still mayest thou easily
If to thee thy strength, . . .
. . . . noble man
With arms win,
Prey to ravens,
If thou there any right hast."
. . . . . .
Quoth Hildibradt . . . .
"Now it so well pleases thee,
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Then let thy first
With axes . . ."
With sharp showers,
That on the shields sounded;
They dashed together
. . . . . sounded

They hewed harmfully
The white shields,
And to them their lindens
Little were.

The translation of the German poem was made some months ago by the present author, for a very different purpose, and was published a few weeks before the book of the Dean of Lismore. All the parts he had any doubt about he left blank; and he thinks it better to give it, at the present time, in its original form, than to either add or subtract.

## XVIII.—MÉMOIRE SUR L'ORIGINE SCYTHO-CIMMÉRIENNE DE LA LANGUE ROMANE.

PAR M. LE DUC DU ROUSSILLON, ETC. ETC., MEMBRE DE PLUSIEURS SOCIÉTÉS SAVANTES.

(Lu à la séance du 11 juin 1862.)

### PREMIÈRE PARTIE.

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à l'Académie une découverte qui pourra servir à faire connaître toute l'utilité que l'on peut retirer, au point de vue des origines, d'un élément fort négligé jusqu'ici dans les études archéologiques. Cet élément n'est autre que la nomenclature des noms de lieux d'une contrée, habités ou non, de montagne, vallon, cours d'eau, promontoire, étang, etc. etc. Il est logique d'admettre, que chaque association humaine qui s'est fixée la première sur un sol, a dû déterminer et arrêter toutes les désignations de cette nature nécessaires à ses fins, soit qu'elle apportât avec elle un langage tout fait, ou bien que la formation de son idiome soit postérieure à l'époque de son établissement. Il est évident aussi que ces désignations ont été prises dans son langage même. Certes, si les races ne s'étaient pas mêlées, rien ne serait plus facile que la classification des éléments que fournirait la plus

superficielle investigation. Malheureusement, il n'en serait pas ainsi pour les pays anciennement habités, à ce que l'on suppose. Ici, la conquête aurait successivement déposé sur le même sol, comme les couches multiples d'un limon différent de nature, vingt peuples dont le langage ne se ressemble point. Et en admettant que chaque nouvelle conquête ait amené une nouvelle modification, dans le sens du dernier idiome introduit, comment est-il possible de se reconnaître au milieu d'une telle confusion? C'est là du moins l'opinion admise. C'est contre cette opinion que j'aurai à lutter lorsque j'avancerai, par exemple, que sur un sol qui m'est très-familier, j'en conviens, les deux versants des extrêmes Pyrénées-Orientales, entre le cours de l'Aude, de la Sègre et la Méditerranée, à peu près, je puis démontrer que la plus grande partie des noms de lieu est tirée de la langue romane. Elle n'en sera que plus rebelle si j'ose affirmer que deux mille noms de lieu environ, relevés sur les cartes de la *Kersonèse taurique*, bords du *Palus Mœotis* et du *Pont Euxin*, présentent le même caractère, d'où résulterait que l'idiome vulgaire de la Gaule celtique et nord de l'Ibérie aurait été introduit dans ces deux dernières contrées par une émigration appartenant à des peuples déjà établis sur le sol de la péninsule cimmérienne et ses environs.

Je suis loin d'ignorer tous les écueils que contient le terrain mouvant de l'étymologie. La savante Académie devant laquelle j'ai l'honneur de parler décidera si je suis parvenu à les éviter tous, ou en partie.

Il est d'abord un premier principe à poser, démontrer et établir assez solidement pour qu'il résiste à toute objection, car il forme la base sur laquelle repose

principalement mon travail. Ce principe c'est: *que les noms de lieu monosyllabiques ne sont pas sujets, généralement parlant, à produire des erreurs d'étymologie, étant pris dans les limites assez étroites ci-dessus indiquées,* c'est-à-dire *l'Aude, la Sègre et la mer.* Malheureusement, ils ne sont pas nombreux, et jusqu'à présent je n'en ai recueilli que 126.

*Nomenclature des Noms monosyllabiques des Lieux habités sur les deux versants des Pyrénées-Orientales extrêmes :*

| *Roman.* | *Français.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alb | aurore | Cot | cotte |
| All | de l'ail | Cuel | récolte |
| Ars | les arts | Creü | croix |
| Archs | les arcs | Cos | corps |
| Ax | torche | Das | |
| Balps | engourdis | En | vase à liquide |
| Bas | bas | Erm | inculte |
| Bar | barre | Er | aire |
| Bel | voile | Faü | je fais |
| Bet | nacelle | Fay | *id.* |
| Bres | | Far | faire |
| Bricks | | Fels | |
| Boix | buis | Fent | feint |
| Bols | vols | Font | fontaine |
| Bor | bord | Foix | fuit |
| Bot | vœu | Flix | |
| Bruch | bruyère | Fals | faux |
| Brull | chute d'eau | Gaü | gué |
| Bren | petit pain | Gès | minime |
| Cam | champ | Ger | jarre |
| Cerch | recherche | Gerp | |
| Clot | fossé | Gep | Joseph |
| Corb | corbeau | Gorchs | marais |
| Cors | cœurs | Gra | grain |
| Corts | cours | Grols | grossiers |

| *Roman.* | *Français.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cols | choux | Ples | plaisirs |
| Gos | chien | Pals | bâtons |
| Grau | étang | Pols | poussière |
| Gué | | Prats | prés |
| Guils | rochers aigus | Pruit | |
| Gurb | | Puig | pic |
| Ix | il sort | Pons | ponts |
| Joch | jeu | Quart | quart |
| Joü | couché | Quer | rocher |
| Jug | joug | Quès | |
| Jor | jure | Rech | ruisseau |
| Llar | du lard | Reus | |
| Lles | | Reig | rigole |
| Lesp | | Riü | rivière |
| Llers | | Rus | blond |
| Llirt | | Sans | saints |
| Llors | lauriers | Sàrt | Sarde |
| Llo | | Scarp | prix fait |
| Mas | manoir | Sils | sourcils |
| Mar | mer | Sco | |
| Mir | observatoire | Sort | le sort |
| Mur | mûre | So | sous |
| Nas | nez | Storn | détour |
| Nîls | miaulements | Stol | escadre |
| Nuch | noix | Tech | il tisse |
| Noü | neuf | Tost | tôt |
| Nyer | nids | Tor | terrain muré |
| Oix | il sort | Tous | creux |
| Oms | ormeaux | Tremp | trempe |
| Orts | jardins | Torn | tour |
| Os | os | Ur | heure |
| Ot | otton | Urg | |
| Paü | paix | Vos | vous |
| Pi | pin | Valls | vallées |
| Pla | plaine | Vim | osier |
| Paö | paon | Vich | |

COURS D'EAU.

| *Roman.* | *Français.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lli ou Gli[1] | lin | Ter | terre |
| Tet | mamelle | Tort | tortueux |

Ainsi que l'on peut s'en assurer, en consultant les dictionnaires de la langue catalane, l'un des dialectes du Roman, la signification de 100 environ de ces noms de lieu monosyllabiques est bien établie. On peut donc admettre leur fondation par un peuple qui employait déjà l'idiome ou langage dont ils font partie. Que de plus les conquérants postérieurs, quoique parlant une langue différente, n'ont pas changé les noms de lieu en leur attribuant une désignation tirée de la leur, cela me paraît clair. Mais, puisque ces lieux monosyllabiques ont conservé leur désignation primitive intacte à travers toutes les couches de conquérants à langages divers, on peut admettre aussi que des noms polysyllabiques ont subi le même sort, et sont parvenus jusqu'à nous purs de tout mélange ou altération. Que l'on peut alors contrôler leur origine au moyen de la langue, sauf à tenir compte de la terminaison qui quelquefois, mais pas toujours, s'est prise à imiter la forme du dernier idiome dominateur.

Maintenant, je dois faire l'observation suivante: restant toujours dans les limites de territoire fort restreintes que je me suis imposées, je ne constate une grande tentative de transformation appellative qu'à l'époque de l'introduction du Christianisme. La construction de tant de chapelles, chacune sous l'invocation d'un saint, dont le nom tout personnel n'était

[1] *La gly* peut être l'abréviation de *l'ayguali*, masse d'eau.

pas toujours en rapport avec le langage de la population qui l'introduisait chez elle, a manqué produire un bouleversement général dans les dénominations dont il s'agit. Et cependant, presque partout, les désignations anciennes ont constamment lutté, même avec succès, contre les intruses. Cette lutte, victorieuse assez généralement, des anciennes appellations contre les nouvelles, quand il s'agissait d'une transformation aussi radicale qu'un changement de religion, doit, il me semble, démontrer toute la profondeur de leurs racines dans le sol dont elles ont pris une fois possession. En effet, c'est seulement dans un nombre de cas fort limité, que le nom du saint a tout à fait remplacé le nom de lieu précédent. Dans un nombre de cas plus étendu, ces deux noms se sont conservés ensemble jusqu'à nous. Hors ces exceptions, les anciennes dénominations ont généralement résisté.

Ce n'est pas à l'influence de la langue latine que l'on peut attribuer les désignations primitives, puisque plus d'un demi-siècle avant la conquête romaine cette contrée était couverte de nombreuses tribus d'origine diverse, mais la plupart *gauloises*. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de consulter Polybe, Tite-Live et Pline. A cette race appartenaient les *Sardones* d'après le premier auteur, et les *Ilerdenses* d'après le troisième,[2] quoique les deux tribus fussent établies sur les deux versants opposés des Pyrénées. Cela s'explique par un passage de Diodore de Sicile, où il est dit qu'après de longues guerres, *Ibères* et *Celtes* s'accordèrent mutuellement le droit de fonder des établissements sur chacun de leurs territoires respectifs que divisait la ligne des Pyrénées. Le poëte Silius Italicus dit aussi :

[2] V. Plin. Hist. Nat. liv. iii.

"*Pyrene celsa nimbosi verticis arce, divisos Celtis longè prospectat Iberos.*" L'autorité de Polybe établit le même fait.

(Polybe) . . . Il ajoute même expressément: "que les deux villes d'Illiberis et Ruscino étaient habitées par les Gaulois.[3]

Pline dit textuellement: "Narbonensis provincia... agrorum cultu . . . opum . . . nulli postferenda, breviterque Italia verius quam provincia."[4] Puisque la Gaule narbonnaise était l'égale de l'Italie en richesse et en culture, c'est probablement qu'elle l'était aussi en population.

Ici donc, les deux mots *Gaulois* et *Celte* sont synonymes, par opposition à celui d'Ibère, en tant qu'ils indiquent une même nationalité. Afin de conserver l'unité de but que je donne à mon mémoire, je ne dirai pas encore quels sont les établissements dont les noms, de physionomie *grecque* ou *ibère*, démontrent une fondation primitive par des individus appartenant à ces peuples, qui vécurent longtemps côte-à-côte avec les autres, mêlés, mais non confondus; jusqu'à ce que la conquête romaine eût commencé la fusion. J'en aurai l'occasion ailleurs, en parlant des races et de leurs origines. Cette contrée dut être très-anciennement habitée. J'en donnerai pour preuve un fait de l'ordre géologique, et je le mentionne *de visu*. Vers l'année 1844 ou 45, lorsqu'on creusait le nouveau bassin à flot de Portvendres; à huit mètres de profondeur dans le sous-sol, et six mètres au-dessous du niveau de la mer, sur le roc nu, fut découverte une tête humaine qui paraissait appartenir à un individu du sexe féminin. Il faut

[3] V. Athénée, liv. viii. chap. ii.: de la Gaule.

[4] V. Plinius, Naturalis Historia, lib. iii.

bien connaître les lieux, pour pouvoir apprécier même par évaluation combien est grand le nombre des siècles qui se sont écoulés, accumulés les uns sur les autres, avant que ces huit mètres de détritus ont recouvert, de leurs couches successives, le cadavre qui fut d'abord au fond de l'eau, mais qui ne s'y trouvait plus lors de la découverte; car la mer avait été rejetée plus loin par les terres d'alluvion élevées au-dessus de son niveau. D'autre part, l'existence des *Celtes* comme nation dans l'ouest de l'Europe est déjà constatée au cinquième siècle avant notre ère par le témoignage d'Hérodote, de même que celle des *Ibères*.

Sur la constitution de la langue romane, nous ne connaissons pas de document authentique antérieur de date à celui que l'on trouve imprimé dans la collection Bouquet.[5] C'est le serment mutuel prêté l'an 842 à Argentaria, maintenant Strasbourg, par les deux fils de Louis le Débonnaire d'une part, et le peuple de l'autre. Au-delà de cette époque, nous en sommes réduits à glaner, comme je le fais ici.

Strabon mentionne comme employés de son temps par les Ibères deux mots qui se trouvent encore dans le Catalan, quoique l'acception que cet auteur leur attribue ait disparu. Ils portaient, dit cet auteur, des boucliers qu'ils appelaient *pels*. Ce mot signifie encore *peaux* en mouillant l'*l*, et *poils* en la laissant simple; c'est-à-dire que Strabon a pris un mot générique dans un sens spécial. Leur sol, d'après lui, était ravagé par la multiplication constante des lapins, qu'ils appelaient *liberides*. Il paraîtrait que le mot *conil*, en Latin *cuniculus*, ne leur était pas encore connu; et que pour eux, le lapin n'était qu'un petit lièvre, maintenant *lle-*

[5] V. vol. vii. p. 35.

*brete*, dérivé de *llebre*, qui produit aussi *llebrasse*, ou gros lièvre. César dans ses Commentaires mentionne environ 65 noms de Gaulois, qui offrent presque tous un sens dans la langue romane actuelle; chacun peut vérifier cette concordance (à la fin).

Le témoignage de plusieurs auteurs, soit historiens, géographes, etc., latins et grecs, dont les mentions remontent jusqu'à l'année 218 avant notre ère, atteste l'existence d'une foule de tribus, ou populations, qui portaient alors des noms encore existants aujourd'hui. Mais, pour le comprendre, il est nécessaire d'observer: que ces auteurs ne se sont fait faute de défigurer les noms tels que les disaient les naturels du pays dans leur langage indigène, afin de leur donner la physionomie qu'exigeaient les règles sévères de leur idiome, soit grec ou latin. Je me dispenserai de citer, parce que je n'aurais ici que l'embarras du choix. Ainsi, lorsqu'on veut rétablir un nom de lieu dans son intégrité primitive, on y réussit généralement, si l'on rentre dans l'esprit du dialecte local; cette méthode, que je suis constamment, me conduit à de bons résultats.

Puisque des appellations telles que: *Ceretani*, *Consuarani*, *Bargusii*, *Ærenosi*, (Cerdans, Conserans, Bergadans, Arenosos,) etc., composées de plusieurs syllabes, sont parvenues jusqu'à nous telles quelles, quoique existant plusieurs siècles avant notre ère; à plus forte raison il doit en être ainsi pour des *villas* monosyllabiques dont l'humilité était une garantie contre tout bouleversement, résultat d'une attaque victorieuse après lutte. La principale difficulté consiste à séparer d'abord les désignations d'origine *celtique* ou *gauloise* des *Ibères*. Elle n'est pas petite, j'en conviens. C'est la tâche que je me suis imposée dans ce mémoire, à

l'aide d'une série d'opérations et recherches qui se lient entr'elles.

J'ai d'abord reconnu dans la langue catalane, qui n'est, comme personne ne l'ignore, qu'un dialecte du Roman, l'existence de synonymes réels, complets, dont la forme est si différente qu'elle accuse aussi une diversite d'origine, à première vue. Je puis citer en premier lieu les deux mots *ærenæ* et *sourræ*, qui signifient également *sable*. On voit bien qu'il ne peut exister aucune filiation entr'eux. Dans mon opinion, ils ont servi à désigner deux tribus d'origine, ou pour mieux dire, de constitution différente, établies sur le littoral ou *les sables* de la Méditerranée. La première, Ibère, à ce que je crois, et connue sous le nom d'*Ærenosos*, habitait, au pied du versant hispanique des Pyrénées-Orientales près de la rivière *Ærena*, les deux villages encore appelés *Arenis de mar* et *Arenis de munt*. La deuxième, connue sous le nom de *Sourredans* et d'origine *celtique*, habitait le versant gaulois de ces mêmes montagnes.[6] Pomponius Mela l'appelle *Sordones*, tandis que Pline lui donne le nom de *Sardones* et *Surdaones*. Cette dernière traduction est celle qui se rapproche le plus de son nom réel. Il a disparu comme division politique territoriale, mais il existe encore dans la langue et signifie les habitants des sables, tout comme le synonyme *Ærenosos*. Cette dernière tribu est mentionnée dans Polybe comme l'une de celles qui furent soumises par les Carthaginois lors de leur passage sous les ordres d'Annibal. On ne peut donc supposer que les Romains aient introduit chez elle le mot *arena*, qui est latin aussi, puisqu'ils n'avaient pas encore conquis cette contrée. Je ferai remarquer, en passant, la dif-

[6] V. Carte n° 4134, portef. n° 189, Bibl. Imp. Paris.

férence des deux terminaisons, l'une en *ans*, et l'autre en *os ;* et j'aurai plus tard l'occasion de démontrer que la première doit appartenir à une tribu gauloise, lorsque la seconde caractérise une origine hispanique. Un passage du poëte latin Festus Avienus, qui écrivait vers le commencement du 5e siècle de notre ère, sa description de la côte maritime, vient à l'appui de mon opinion. Je crois devoir le citer textuellement à cause des éclaircissements qu'il donne ; le voici :

" Post Pyrenæum jugum
Jacent arenæ littoris *Cynetici*,
Easque latè sulcat amnis Roschinus,
Hoc Sordicenæ, ut diximus, glebæ solum est.
Stagnum hic, palusque quippe diffusè patet,
Et incolæ istam Fordicen[7] cognominant,
Præterque, vasti gurgitis crepulas aquas ;
Nam propter amplum marginis laxæ ambitum
Ventis tumescit sæpe percellentibus.
Stagno hoc ab ipso *Sordus* amnis effluit."[8]

Ce que l'auteur appelle *Litus Cyneticum* ne peut être que la partie du littoral connue encore sous le nom de plage de *Canet*, d'après le village actuel, qui évidemment existait de son temps, et peut-être même déjà du temps d'Hérodote, suivant deux passages de cet auteur. (V. liv. ii. 33, et liv. iv. 49.) Avienus constate parfaitement la nature sablonneuse du sol habité par les *Sardones* maritimes, le cours capricieux de la *Tet*, qui le ravage en tout sens, et l'étang qu'elle forme, dans son cours à défaut de lit régulier, jusqu'à ce

[7] Faute d'impression pour *Sordicen*.

[8] V. Bibl. Imp. opera quæ extant ; Matriti, 1634 ; in- 4°, p. 36, v. 558 : oræ maritimæ descriptio.

qu'elle en trouve. Il n'oublie pas d'observer que les habitants donnent à cette nature de sol le nom de *sordicen;* c'est ainsi qu'il traduit le mot catalan *sourredès;* en Français, *terrains sablonneux*, qu'ils soient, ou non, couverts d'une nappe d'eau superficielle. Il résulterait aussi du texte précité que l'étang formé par les eaux de la *Tet*, que l'auteur appelle *Amnis Roschinus* et *Sordus*, aurait été aussi désigné sous le même nom de *Sordicen*, c'est-à-dire en langue vulgaire l'étang des *Sourredès*. On aurait beau le chercher maintenant, il n'existe plus; quoiqu'il soit bien constaté qu'il se trouvait sur la ligne parcourue par la rivière, il serait impossible de déterminer sa position, même approximativement, si un monument du 12e siècle ne venait nous éclairer à ce sujet.

Gérard II, comte du Roussillon, dit dans son testament: "Relinquo Hospitalariis *campum de Stagno* qui est in adjacentiâ Sti Joannis Perpiniani, de quo ejeci aquam;"[9] plus bas, il dispose de la manière suivante: "Relinquo Ecclesiæ Sti Johannis Perpiniani agrarium illorum hortorum qui sunt à Canonica, juxta regum qui vadit ad molendina nova." On doit conclure de ces deux passages que le *Sordicen stagnum* se trouvait sous les murs même de la ville actuelle de Perpignan, et sur un sol occupé maintenant par des jardins, que de plus sa disparution est due à l'administration bienfaisante de Gérard II, qui l'a fait dessécher. Il ne faudrait pas, quoique d'accord avec la nouvelle carte des Gaules,[10] le supposer sur l'emplacement de l'étang

[9] Marca Hispanica, p. 1360.

[10] V. Carte épreuve des Gaules sous le Proconsulat de César, dressée par la Commission Impériale, Paris.

actuel de Saint-Nazaire, où, d'après la disposition matérielle des lieux, le *flumen Roschinus* n'a jamais pu passer à l'époque d'Avienus.

Il est encore une foule d'autres synonymes dans le Catalan, tels que :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| caball | rossi | (en Français) | cheval |
| coumæ | serræ | „ | crête d'une hauteur |
| puig | serrat | „ | pic |
| portous | coll | „ | défilé entre deux hauteurs |
| gous | ca | „ | chien |
| roc | pera | „ | caillou, etc. etc. |

Accouplés ainsi, tous ces synonymes accusent une dualité d'origine. Mais, comment déterminer avec certitude cette origine première ? c'est là le problème dont j'ai dû longtemps chercher la solution. Je me suis dit qu'il fallait commencer par dégager l'un des deux éléments sans me préoccuper du deuxième, et aller à la recherche des moyens propres à découvrir et constater la source de l'élément *celte* ou *gaulois*, en négligeant l'élément *hispanique*.

Il a été dit déjà que la signification de tous les noms de lieu monosyllabiques n'est pas encore connue. C'est en interrogeant mainte et mainte fois les chartes manuscrites ou imprimées des vieux cartulaires du pays, pour y chercher quelque nouveau trait de lumière, que je suis parvenu à faire jaillir l'étincelle électrique qui devait m'éclairer.

Le nom de *Tor* se trouve porté par divers établissements situés sur la côte maritime aussi bien que sur les hauteurs des Pyrénées. Mais, ni dans la langue vulgaire, ni dans les dictionnaires, il n'est possible de trouver sa signification, autant qu'on le prononce avec

un *r* seulement, et même avec douceur. C'est une acception qui a disparu tout à fait. Deux chartes principalement, l'une de l'an 1153 de notre ère, l'autre de l'an 1048, démontrent que le mot *tor* signifie : *emplacement bâti*, ou *à bâtir*.

Voici les termes de la première : " Ego Raimundus de Petrilonis, qui vocor de Bares, . . . dono Domino Deo, et Sancta Maria de Aspirano et Sancto Laurentio Dopet et Arnallo Seniofredi ejusdem loci prioris et suis successoribus . . . *unum tor de terra* sicuti est terminatus, ad faciendum mansum vel quidquid voluerit facere . . . ut sit francum et liberum alodium."[11] Les quatre confronts ordinaires y sont mentionnés. On pourrait croire qu'il s'agit ici d'une mesure agraire déterminée, si la deuxième charte ne donnait, par sa teneur, la signification exacte du mot. En voici la disposition : " Ego Bligario Olibano et uxor . . . venditores vel exchamiatores sumus Deo et Sancti Michaeli Cenobii que dicunt Coxano et tibi Miro gratia Dei Abba et cuncta congregatione . . . alodem nostrum proprium . . . mansos cum ipso orto et cum ipsos arbores fructuosos vel infructuosos, et cum ipsos vallos qui in circuitu ejus sunt, et cum *ipsos toros*, et cum ipsas terras, et cum ipsas vineas."[12] Comme on le voit, ce diplôme enumère les manoirs, avec le jardin, ses arbres, les murs d'enceinte et l'emplacement sur lequel se trouve le tout ; plus, ensuite, les autres terres et vignes non-entourées de muraille.

Le monosyllabe *ker* appartient à divers lieux dans les Pyrénées-Orientales habités ou non-habités. Sa signification est aussi complétement perdue que celle

[11] V. Manus. Bibl. Imp. Col. Moreau, vol. lxvi. p. 221.

[12] V. ibid. vol. xxiv. p. 65.

de *tor ;* elle répond au mot *rocher.* Je suis parvenu à la faire revivre à l'aide de quelques textes qui sont mentionnés ci-après :

1° Une bulle papale de l'an 985 détermine les limites du territoire appartenant à l'abbaye de Saint-Michel de Cuixà, dans le comté du Conflent, d'après la ligne suivante : " deinde tenditur usque ad *rupem* sive *cherum* Clarinti."[13] Une deuxième bulle ayant le même objet, de l'an 1011, contient ce qui suit : " et a meridiano fronte montis Canigonis descendit per serram puigii Aquiloni ad *rupem* vulgò nuncupatam *cherum* Clerinti."[14]

2° Il existe sur le territoire d'Argelès-sur-mer, près la tour de la Massane, un rocher généralement appelé en langue vulgaire : *La roca del corb*, c'est-à-dire *la roche du corbeau.* Deux diplômes, l'un de l'an 982, l'autre de l'an 1293, le mentionnent, le premier par les mots latins, *Curco, Curbo;* le second par le mot de la langue vulgaire, *Quercorb*, dénomination qui a disparu.[15] On voyait encore au moyen-âge un château de ce dernier nom dans le territoire de *Prats de Mollò*, objet d'une transaction entre l'Abbé de Sainte-Marie d'Arles et la Dame de Corsavi ; l'an 1197, il est appelé : *Mansus* ou *honor* de Kero-Curvo, et *Castrum Corbi* dans une charte de 832, où l'on voit qu'il tirait son nom du rocher au pied duquel il était construit. Cela résulte du texte suivant : " Usque ad ipsam rogam (rocam) quod est super Castrum Corbi."[16] On n'ignore pas le rôle que jouait le corbeau dans les divinations des anciens.

[13] V. Marca Hispanica, p. 934.
[14] V. ibid. p. 978.
[15] V. ibid. p. 926, et Col. Mor. vol. ccxii.
[16] V. Marca Hisp. pp. 769 et 1387.

3° Dans le territoire de Banyuls-sur-mer il existe un rocher élevé supportant une tour en ruines, antérieure au 10e siècle. Ce point est encore appelé *Ker roig*, que l'on traduit *kero rubio* dans les monuments du moyen-âge. Est-ce parce qu'à l'heure de midi, le soleil se trouve d'aplomb sur le rocher, qui paraît rouge? Ce n'est pas impossible; probablement la superstition s'était emparée de cette coïncidence.

On trouve encore des lieux appelés dans les vieux cartulaires : *Keros Albos*, *Ker Angle*, *Ker Monnos*, *Ker Ononino*, *Ker Foradat*,[17] *Ker Bruno*, etc.[18] Dans les délimitations de territoire, les lignes de rochers qui forment des divisions naturelles sont appelées tantôt *rupes* et tantôt *keras*. Je crois suffisantes ces démonstrations, tendant à établir la signification, antérieurement perdue, des deux monosyllabes *tor* et *ker*.

Par ces deux mots j'ai pris l'extrémité du fil conducteur qui m'a dirigé vers le pays anciennement connu sous le nom de *Kersonèse Torique*, et habité par une tribu scythe : les *Tauri*, d'après Hérodote; sur l'autorité duquel on admet que les *Cimmériens* possédaient avant eux cette péninsule, maintenant *la Crimée*.

J'ai interrogé, sur cette contrée, la carte allemande dressée par F. Handtke,[19] d'après la grande carte russe en 10 feuilles du général d'état-major *Muckin*, et sur le guide dans la Mer-Noire, par Corréard.[20] J'ai contrôlé mon travail à l'aide de la carte anglaise de Thomas Best Jervis,[21] major du génie, et celle d'Andri-

[17] V. Marca Hisp. p. 879 et suiv. [18] V. p. 837.

[19] V. Bibl. Imp. dep. des Cartes Géogr.: *Specialkarte der Krymm; Glogau*, 1854.

[20] V. ibid. an 1816.

[21] V. ibid. an 1817.

veau Goujon.[22] Comme ce dernier cartographe s'est étendu jusqu'aux côtes de la Mer d'Azoff et partie de la Mer-Noire, je me suis servi de son œuvre, pour ces deux portions de territoire.[23]

Continuant le système dont l'application m'avait réussi dans la région des extrêmes Pyrénées-Orientales, j'ai relevé un à un tous les noms de lieu qui offraient une signification en rapport avec la langue romane, et négligé ceux dont la physionomie indiquait l'origine allemande, grecque et russe. Il convient de faire observer que plusieurs noms sont composés d'un radical roman et une terminaison que l'on peut attribuer à la fois à cet idiome ou au Russe. Dans le doute, je dois signaler cet incident.

Le nombre des noms de lieu relevés, tant sur la péninsule *cimmérienne* que sur les côtes de la Mer d'Azoff et de la Mer-Noire, est de deux mille environ. L'emploi par l'Allemand Handtke, de l'orthographe particulière à sa langue dans la nomenclature de sa carte, m'aurait offert de grandes difficultés, si je ne m'étais déjà exercé à lire une Bible imprimée en langue romane, mais orthographe germaine, que je découvris dans le canton suisse des Grisons, où l'idiome limousin est usité. Cet exercice préalable, joint à quelque connaissance de l'Allemand, ont facilité mon travail. Il consiste à ne considérer que la valeur phonétique de chaque nom de lieu sans faire attention à l'orthographe, dans sa transcription, qui a lieu d'après les principes de l'orthographe romane et de la valeur idéographique

[22] V. ibid. an 1856.

[23] Je dois un tribut de remercîments au savant M. Jomard, qui avec M. Cortambert m'ont fourni les plus grandes facilités dans tout ce qui concerne mon travail.

qu'il offre dans cet idiome. A côté de cette transcription j'ai porté la traduction en Français. Ici se présente tout naturellement la question suivante : est-il possible de prouver que les diverses combinaisons phonétiques de ces noms de lieu, supposés *scytho-cimmériens* d'origine, ont possédé lors de leur détermination une valeur idéologique tout à fait, ou du moins quasi-identique avec celle que je leur attribue dans la langue catalane? Cette question trouvera sa réponse dans les démonstrations que contiendra la suite de mon mémoire. J'ai choisi cet idiome comme moyen d'interprétation, parce qu'il me paraît avoir conservé ses acceptions primitives beaucoup mieux que les dialectes provençal, languedocien, limousin ou autres.

Je classifie par mots à une, deux, trois syllabes et ainsi de suite. Je puis déjà mettre sous les yeux de mes lecteurs environ 700 noms contenus dans ces trois premières catégories, choisis presque tous dans les limites de la presqu'île *cimmérienne*. Je n'ai ajouté, de la carte à orthographe française d'Andriveau Goujon, que des monosyllabes en fort petit nombre et des noms de rivière, le tout extrait des côtes de la Mer d'Azoff et de la Mer-Noire entre la Crimée et les bouches du Danube, que je n'ai pas dépassées.

Il convient de remarquer d'abord que toute cette région n'offre qu'un nombre de lieux monosyllabiques bien restreint comparativement à celle des Pyrénées. Il ne s'élève qu'à trente environ ; lorsque nous avons d'autre part un chiffre presque quintuple, comment l'expliquer?

Je conjecture que lorsque les *Scytho-Cimmériens* emigrèrent vers l'Europe occidentale, ils vivaient encore à l'état nomade sur la péninsule et aux environs ; se ser-

vant d'un langage encore très-imparfait, composé principalement de monosyllabes. Les émigrants, parvenus dans la région des Pyrénées, durent s'éparpiller sur le sol, choisir leurs lieux de résidence par groupes, s'y fixer et les dénommer, à une époque antérieure à celle où leurs compatriotes restés sur le sol de l'Europe orientale ou de l'Asie firent plus tard comme eux. Alors, leur langage, qui dans un long intervalle s'était développé, comprenait déjà tous les polysyllabiques qui furent attribuées à leurs établissements, de fondation moins ancienne que ceux de l'Europe occidentale. Néanmoins, les deux peuples, maintenant divisés, développèrent leur idiome parallèlement, et suivant des combinaisons idéologiques et idéographiques à peu près semblables, parce que le sens de leurs radicaux primitifs était déjà déterminé lorsqu'ils se séparèrent.

Ceci est fort hypothétique, j'en conviens, et ne peut être offert qu'à titre de conjecture tendant à expliquer un fait qui paraît anormal à première vue.

En comparant entre elles deux listes de monosyllabiques si inégales en nombre, l'une de la région *cimmérienne*, l'autre des *Pyrénées*, on constatera que quelques-uns de ces noms de lieu se trouvent en même temps sur les deux nomenclatures. Ce sont *Ker*, *Cort*, *Llès*, *Cos*, *Boix*, *Aïx ;* mots qui en catalan signifient *roc*, *cour*, *diligent*, *corps*, *buis*, *torche*. Nous trouverons presque tous les autres dans les combinaisons polysyllabiques. Ainsi la nomenclature des noms de lieu à deux syllabes situés dans les limites de la péninsule, qui s'élève à plus de 300, contient 25 autres monosyllabiques des Pyrénées plusieurs fois combinés dans ces 300 mots. La nomenclature des noms de lieu à trois

syllabes, qui dépasse le chiffre de 350, contient 36 monosyllabiques de la même liste des Pyrénées diverses fois et diversement combinés. Ainsi, sur un total en nombres ronds de 700 noms de lieu cimmériens, à une, deux et trois syllabes, nous trouverions 60 monosyllabiques pyrénéens, c'est-à-dire la moitié environ de ceux que nous connaissons; cela constitue une proportion entre le 11e et le 12e. Elle me paraît suffisante pour établir une des bases de mon opinion. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue qu'il me reste encore à opérer sur les mots à 4 syllabes et au-dessus, au nombre d'environ 1300; je m'en occuperai avec d'autres questions dans la 2e partie de mon mémoire. Comme quelques-uns constituent, pour ainsi dire, des phrases entières, tels que celui-ci par exemple, *ashi-bal-ak-bak-al*, que je traduis: "ici le chemin conduit au coteau élevé opposé au soleil," je ne m'en occupe pas encore.

Je vais d'abord chercher à établir le sens, l'acception usuelle parmi les *Cimmériens* des mots qu'ils appliquèrent à leurs établissements et autres lieux habités ou non-habités.

Parmi les moyens à employer, il en est un qui serait péremptoire et dont l'application pourra trancher la difficulté si des doutes s'élèvent. C'est un transport sur les lieux, qui seraient interrogés du point de vue nécessaire, c'est-à-dire le rapport entre les désignations et les circonstances locales de position ou autres.

J'ai pensé que l'emploi de ce moyen n'était pas indispensable, ayant trouvé dans les cartes géographiques des éléments qui suffisaient à ma démonstration. Ainsi, la nomenclature des cours d'eau qui dépasse le nombre de 100, offre des significations qui toutes répondent, à leur forme, à leur nature, à leurs défauts ou qualités,

si on les traduit en langue romane. Par exemple, une rivière qui porte l'ancien nom de la Crimée, le *Kerso*, que le cartographe Handtke a écrit *Karassu*, se compose de deux branches, l'une droite et l'autre tortueuse ; cette dernière est appelée *Kutschukk*, mot qui se retrouve sur la carte, toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'une ligne coudée. Or *Coutsout* signifie *coudé*, en catalan. L'autre porte le nom de *Béiouk*, toujours donné aux lignes droites, et se compose de deux mots : *bé*, qui signifie *bien*, et *jouke*, qui signifie il *perche* ou *se tient droit*, en parlant des volatiles de basse cour. J'y trouve le *Tech*, cours d'eau des *Sardones*, sous la forme germaine *Tege ;* le *Ssalgirr* et le *Malssalgirr*, qui signifient, le premier, *roule du limon*, et le second, *roule du mauvais limon* ; le *Stilia*, c'est clarifier ; le *Chatana*, couler comme un robinet ; le *Boghas*, amas de plantes marécageuses ; le *Tschujuntschu*, sous le confluent ; le *Beschterekk*, tient son lit bas ; le *Montanaï*, montagnard ; le *Tunas*, emporté ; l'*Aschil*, agile ; le *Ssubasch*, s'abaisse ; le *Nachitschewantschokakk*, qui constitue à lui seul une phrase : sitôt né, sitôt épuisé, etc. etc.

Si l'on quitte la péninsule cimmérienne, pour parcourir la côte de la Mer d'Azoff et celle de la Mer-Noire jusqu'au Danube, en compagnie du cartographe français Andriveau Goujon, on trouvera entr'autres cours d'eau les suivants : le *Tchetachil*, robinet agile ; le *Doniouzli*, dangereux lit ; l'*Antchokrak*, ensablé ; le *Mastchenak*, empoisonné ; le *Podgalna*, patte de gallinacée, dont il affecte réellement la forme ; le *Podpalna*, qui affecte celle d'une pelle ; le *Koudakho*, queue de chien à l'arrêt ; le *Nosov*, nez aquilin ; le *Scalovatoïo*, flaques éparpillées, qui se trouvent à son em-

bouchure ; l'*Ingoul*, qui avale. Il existe encore un système de dénomination appliqué aux cours d'eau comme aux villages voisins ; c'est de les distinguer entr'eux, lorsqu'ils portent le même nom, par une bénédiction donnée au premier, tandis que le second reçoit une malédiction, ou tout autre vœu qui se réunit au nom primitif. Il y a lieu d'observer que la malédiction est encore ici exactement celle de la langue catalane, *Malehit* et *Malaïa ;* la bénédiction a très-peu varié. Elle se compose du monosyllabe *bel* ou *bol*, par opposition à *mal* suivi de la même terminaison, tantôt *ahï*, tantôt *aja* ; en catalan, qu'il ait. Ainsi, un cours d'eau s'appelle, *Outliouka*. En catalan le mot *oullou* signifie source ; il est terminé par le monosyllabe *ka*, qui est russe, et se rencontre souvent. Tout près se trouvent le béni et le maudit *Outliouka ;* le premier précédé du mot *Bolchaïa*, et le second du mot *Malaïa*. On rencontre encore le *Maliiadjalik* auprès du *Boladjalik ;* le *Srednii Kouialnik*, près du *Malii Kouialnik*. Ici on ne donne pas la bénédiction au premier, mais on lui souhaite *de se retenir*.

Il existe un village composé sans doute de gens trop remuants qu'on n'a pas maudits plus que bénis. On s'est contenté de leur souhaiter plus de tranquillité, par les mots *Star Aïa*, qui viennent après *Chveds Kaïa*, nom du village, qui paraît être une colonie de Suédois.

Je passe maintenant à la nomenclature des caps et côtes maritimes de la carte allemande. Sous le nom de *Dshaldachann*, on reconnaît un cap à l'extremité duquel sont plusieurs rochers isolés les uns des autres mais paraissant assez rapprochés pour qu'un chien puisse les parcourir en franchissant d'un saut l'espace qui les sépare. Un autre cap s'appelle *Karamrunn*,

c'est-à-dire rocher qui gronde. On trouve encore: *Ssaritsch*, on y risque; *Kikineiss*, qui en sort; *Meganomm*, cache l'homme; *Fanar*, se hâter; *Ajudagh*, secourir; *Nikita*, quitte le nid; *Tschikenn*, relèvent; *Karadagh*, amas de rochers; *Eskiforos*, j'amorce au large; *Ulukull*, centre de hurlements, etc. etc.

Sur les côtes sont la baie de *Belbek*, j'aperçois une voile, ou *Cabarta*, mettre le navire à la cape; *Sstrelez Kaja*, maison des étoiles, ou observatoire; *Pesstschanaja*, poissonneuse; *Koktebel*, amène la voile; *Kurtyziburunn*, roche à éruptions. On remarque l'étang de *Zykur*, on y court; ceux de *Kirkk*, creux; *Tarkann*, fond de terre; *Missirr* ou *Tschokrakk*, misère ou desseché. Entre diverses sources d'eaux minérales que produit la presqu'île de *Tamann* est un lieu appelé *Kobany*, bain cuisant. L'emplacement de l'éruption volcanique de 1794 porte les noms de *Kukuoba*, caverne qui cuit. Une langue de terre très-abritée est *Sswernaja Kossa*, la côte à hiverner. Une autre fort étroite, *Jushnaja Kossa*, c'est-à-dire côte juste il y en a.

On trouve encore divers îlots ou bancs de sable sous les noms de *Tschongarr*, amas de joncs; *Kossa Dsharill Agatsch*, côte de sable fin dangereux; *Ssaribulat*, sable fin éboulé; *Kutt Tschantulann*, côte très-fréquentée; *Arabatsskaja Kossa*, côte de la fortification avancée. Ce dernier nom appartient à un banc de sable sur lequel circule une route qui vient aboutir au continent par un passage étroit appelé, *Jenitschi Tonka*, c'est-à-dire je sors, ferme. Le banc de sable est pour la côte une espèce de défense naturelle avancée; de là sa dénomination. Et le passage étroit aboutit à l'isthme connu sous les deux désignations de *Kerkinitt* ou *Peracop*.

Ces deux mots, de forme si différente et dont l'acception est à peu près identique, semblent accuser deux races diverses d'origine, quoique la langue catalane, d'après ce que nous connaissons maintenant, puisse servir à les expliquer. On sait que *Ker* est roc ; *Kinitt* répond à *Cugniet*, qui signifie coin. On ne peut s'y tromper, car on appelle *cugnic* un petit oiseau tellement maigre que sa poitrine présente toujours cette forme ; de plus, la valeur phonétique en çatalan et la forme matérielle de l'objet qui répond au mot grec *ctéïs* fournissent un autre argument à l'appui.

*Kerkinitt* signifierait donc, pierre en forme de coin. *Peracop* fournit le mot *pera*, qui traduit exactement *ker*, et *cop* signifie coup ; nous avons donc ici, pierre à coup et pierre à coin. Au pied de la grande fortification qui ferme l'isthme, le premier village s'appelle : *Preobragens*, où l'on trouve les trois mots, Pera-obragen, qui signifient, gens qui travaillent la pierre. C'était donc le lieu habité par les maçons ou tailleurs de pierre qui ont concouru à l'érection de la muraille de défense. On pourrait alors conjecturer que le mot *pera* fût introduit par une race postérieure d'époque à celle qui se servait du mot *ker*.

Je ne voudrais pas prolonger plus longtemps une *glose* qui ne peut que fatiguer mes lecteurs, d'autant plus que ce travail est destiné à prendre la forme du glossaire. Je supprimerai donc bon nombre d'observations qui peuvent servir à démontrer la solidité des bases sur lesquelles repose ma découverte, pour m'en tenir à quelques-unes principales. Sur les sommets les plus élevés de la péninsule cimmérienne je trouve souvent le mot *Jéli*, qui signifie *glacial* ou *je gèle*, et que l'Ibère prononce *geli*, accouplé avec d'autres. Dans

la région moyenne je trouve *le dégel* représenté par la forme *Deschel*, identique, ou à peu près, chez les deux peuples.

Certains mots qui représentent des parties du corps appartenant à l'un et à l'autre sexe ; d'autres qui expriment des fonctions naturelles que je ne saurais traduire ici, on le sent bien, restent encore les mêmes sans variation chez les deux peuples. Le mot *Khan* ou *Can*, précédant une désignation de famille ou tribu, se trouve des deux côtés. La lettre *n*, qui est un signe d'excellence ou supériorité sociale, se conserve encore de part et d'autre; ainsi le catalan du moyen-âge disait, le roi *N'Anfos*, le roi *Nan Pera*,[24] suivant que le nom commençait par une voyelle ou consonne. Le Cimmérien désignait les lieux habités par ses chefs sous le mot *N'Aïmann*, c'est-à-dire le chef qui là commande. Le Catalan moderne écrirait, *N'ahi mane.*

*Nomenclature des Noms de Lieu monosyllabiques relevés sur la Carte allemande de Handtke :—*

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kminn | camins | chemins |
| Katt | gat | chat |
| Kyrk | courq | creux |
| Boi | baï | bas |
| Klen | calen | chaud |
| Ass | ase | âne |
| Boss | boüs | bœufs |
| Kirr | ker | roche |
| Ssakk | sac | sac |
| Aisch | eïx | sort (ou essieu) |
| Less | llest | diligent |

[24] Pour : S. M. le roi Alfonse ou Pierre.

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Aipp | ep | appel |
| Kutt | coste | côte |
| Tuusch | tous | toux |
| Kuortt | cort | cour |
| Koss | cos | corps |
| Daïrr | d'aïre | vite |
| Tasch | tax | taxe |
| Tschii | xii | exclamation d'étonnement |
| Kutsch | coutze | coude |
| Sykk (cap) | sec | sec |

*Noms de Lieu relevés sur la Carte française d'Andriveau Goujon :—*

| *Orthographe française.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Troits | trets | défrichés |
| Saits | sets | soif |
| Zaïm | sim | cime |
| Kair | kaïr | sommet extérieur d'un angle |
| Kertsch | kers | rochers |
| Schlamm | clam | clameur |
| Taukk | tok | toucher |
| Taz | tatze | tâche |
| Psifl (cours d'eau) | xifle | siffle |
| Don (id.) | | |
| Boug (id.) | | |

*Noms de Lieu dissyllabiques.* (*Handtke.*)

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Ssanak | sanat | châtré |
| Konan | canan | ils mesurent |
| Durmen | dormen | ils dorment |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Apass | a pas | au pas |
| Tarkann | tarregan | font du petit charbon |
| Kambarr | cambiar | changer (ou gambar, gambader) |
| Taschlarr | tatxe l'ar | taxe le filet de pêche |
| Ssalin | salin | salin |
| Kebekk | cabeque | chouette |
| Dsharakk | charrak | lame de scie |
| Dere | derré | derrière |
| Messitt | masit | en manoir |
| Dshuparr | xupar | s'imbiber |
| Baïratsch | barrats | barrages |
| Tobei | tot beï | tout je vois |
| Toïmass | tol masse | porte massue |
| Tokmaï | toc maill | touche maillet |
| Tschota | sota | stupide (ou dessous) |
| Itschki | itxqui | je sors |
| Muschaï | muxaï | moustique |
| Ablasch | ab l'axe | avec la hache |
| Aitaï ou Alataï | al taill ou a la taille | à la coupe |
| Kaïnasch | canas | gros chien |
| Kiyat | kijat | enfoncé |
| Boghass | bogas | plantes marécag. |
| Nasyrr | nasire | nez colère |
| Kutschak | coutsat | coudé (ou coutjat, couché) |
| Sstaban | staban | ils restaient |
| Babann | baban | ils bavent |
| Tschukull | s'ou cull | récolte pour soi |
| Oisull | os oull | œil d'ours |
| Tschukurr | sucurs | secours |
| Kel-Scheich | cal xèx | il faut du blé |
| Kanaan | canan | ils mesurent |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Konratt | conroat | cultivé |
| Tokk-Scheich | toc xèx | touche du blé |
| Kiptschakk | quitxat | pressé |
| Korpolu | cor palout | cœur velu |
| Ssartscha | serrejà | en cime |
| Myssaï | m'y saill | m'en sort |
| Kabatsch | cabats | bêchés |
| Baïgull | bagol | cri |
| Taschkoï | tatxe coll | taxe au col |
| Kortbii | cort bii | je dirige brièvement |
| Airtscha | airejà | donner de l'air |
| Orass | oras | bords |
| Toka | toca | touche |
| Ssaja | s'aja | s'obtient |
| Atysch | a t'ixe | à t'en sortir |
| Akkbasch | al baix | au bas |
| Kalatsch | calaix | tiroir |
| Bosakk | bo sac | bon sac (ou baüsat, trahi) |
| Bagaï | bagal | nœud |
| Ssadyrr | se dire | se dire |
| Tokk-Dsholl | toc sol | touche le soleil |
| Naïmann | n'ahi mane | le chef |
| Kutaï | coutell | coutre |
| Kodasch | cotas | grande cotte |
| Schiptsche | sitje | puits |
| Altschinn | alt sim | haute cime |
| Kereï | creï | il croît |
| Karatsch | carats | confrontés |
| Dshanaï | cenail | torche |
| Dengill | d'anguille | d'anguille |
| Irgyss | ire guie | colère dirige |
| Borkutt | bore costa | bord du coteau |
| Dshadra | charrà | bavarder |
| Kirleutt | ker leu | roc léger |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Francais.* |
|---|---|---|
| Adshaï | assaï | assez |
| Kuitsche | cuitgé | coucher |
| Ssultann | soltan | délivrent |
| Dsaba | saba | en sève |
| Sselzo | salso | saucé |
| Botasch | botàs | retenue d'eau (ou grand vœu) |
| Agaï | à gaill | au coq |
| Kadysch | ca d'ixe | chien de sortie |
| Munuss | muns | nombreux |
| Muni | munî | traire |
| Monaï | monail | soliveau brut |
| Bejen | beïen | qu'ils voient |
| Bigenn | biguen | ils placent des poutres |
| Tscherkess | cerques | tu cherches |
| Tschagaï | cegail | moisson |
| Schigaï | ceg'alt | coupe haut |
| Tschugenn | xuguen | ils épuisent |
| Sseïmen | semen | semence |
| Tschaïlaff | saïllas | banc de limon |
| Kitaï | qui tail | ici la coupe |
| Kireitt | keret | petit roc |
| Kulsseid | cul set | soif derrière |
| Karmysch | karmès | ver |
| Schygimm | seguim | suivons |
| Toktaï | toc tail | touche la coupe |
| Kordshakk | cordejat | cordeté |
| Tama | ta ma | ta main |
| Temirr | temir | craindre |
| Kudiarr | coutjar | coucher |
| Aïbarr | albar | l'aube |
| Kisslarr | qu'issa l'ar | hissez le filet de pêche |
| Argynn | arreguin | ils arrosent |
| Kara | cara | face |
| Ssary | sarry | besace |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Burtscho | burjo | perche pointue |
| Kiadshe | catse | boîte |
| Taschli | taxe ly | taxe le lit |
| Mari | mari | marin |
| Tattmon | dalt mont | en haut (ou t'amon, ils t'aiment) |
| Dshuren | suren | ils surnagent |
| Adshaull | atxe ull | hachis d'œil |
| Itakk | | |
| Juslerr | jus l'era | sous l'aire |
| Tumen | toumen | se battent de la tête |
| Katurr | ca, ature | chien d'arrêt |
| Meterr | madère | du bois en planche |
| Maïrykk | maï ric | jamais riche |
| Barasch | barras | barrage |
| Taschkoï | tatxe coll | taxe sur le col |
| Apann | a panne | dans la poële |
| Tejesch | texeix | il tisse |
| Kangyll | ganguil | lévrier |
| Toltschakk | tol sac | emporte sac |
| Salaull | sala ulle | vase à salaison |
| Kokeï | qu aqueï | qui est-ce ? |
| Takill | te qu'il | le voilà |
| Aïdarr | ayudar | aider |
| Tschotaï | só taille | coupe pour soi |
| Otesch ou Kotesch | o teix ou qu'o teix | le tisse / qui le tisse |
| Tlesch | teleix | fabrique toile |
| Burnasch ou Burnak | bornias / borniat | gros borgne / éborgné |
| Busaff | busas | adulateur |
| Usbekk | us bec | je vous vois |
| Shetull | chète ull | œil de robinet |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Eltokk | al toc | au toc |
| Dshirenn | giren | ils tournent |
| Agiarr | a guiar | à conduire |
| Schischi ou Ttchetsche | s'ixi | s'en tire |
| | s'eixe | s'en sortir |
| Dshuma | chuma | flairer |
| Treablan | triplan | ils triplent |
| Alasch | alas | aîles |
| Kosstel | castel | castel |
| Tomaï | tomail | stupide |
| Onlarr | un llar | un lard |
| Dshaïlarr | saill l'ar | limon au filet |
| Schibann | s'y ban | s'en vont |
| Toptschakk | taxat | taxé |
| Baba (le cap) | baba | bave |
| Ssassykk (étang) | se seque | s'assèche |
| Beschi | bessi | je répands le liquide (ou bassin) |
| Temisch | temeix | craint |
| Arapp | arrape | saisit |
| Akkoss | à cos | au corps |
| Tusla | tous allà | tousse là |
| Tulatt | toulat | toit |
| Karatsch | caïrats | soliveaux |
| Dshabasch | s'abaixe | s'abaisse |
| Tokkschenkk | toc senỹ | tocsin |
| Biitenn | bi y ten | vin y tient |
| Ataï | à tail | par coupe |
| Bulekk | boulet | champignon |
| Juschuun | jusqu'ahont | jusqu'où ? |
| Dede | deude | dette |
| Kula ou Kulla | coula | agit du derrière |
| | caiilà | cailler le lait (ou collier) |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Tscharikk (presqu'île) | charrique | boit |
| Tschorumm ou Schoramm | sorram | par un petit filet d'eau<br>sablonneux |
| Tschutschakk | judjat | jugé |
| Ssumaï | soumail | paresseux |
| Kokk-Koss | cocos | mangé des vers |
| Samrukk | samerugue | sangsue |
| Otar | où tard | sourd |
| Bodrakk | boterat | mis dans l'outre |
| Mangusch | mane gous | maître de chiens |
| Bescheff | baixès | petite récolte |
| Asiss | a sis | a six |
| Akkscheich | al sec | au sec |
| Tuile | toulé | briquetier |
| Pitschki | pitje aqui | enfonce là |
| Schulu | gelou | froideur |
| Laka | llaca | lignes de plants |
| Albatt | albat | enfant mort |
| Karlu | carelou | fait face |
| Janssu | llansou | jette-le |
| Baga | baga | coteau opposé au soleil |
| Markull | marque ull | marque l'œil |
| Kelscheich | cals sec | chaux de sèche |
| Aïrgull | orgull | orgueil |
| Sstilia | stilla | éclaircir |
| Kuusch | cuxe | cuisse |
| Babuann | ba bouan | enduit de bouze |
| Autka | auca | oie |
| Gusspra | gust spera | attendre l'appétit |
| Churis | souris | sourire |
| Misschorr | mig sorre | mi-sable |
| Ssimeïs | simets | petites cimes |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Skala | scala | échelle |
| Forass | forrats | fourrés |
| Lasspi | lo sapi | le sapin |
| Kaïta | gaïta | guette |
| Baïdarr | baï d'ar | bas du filet |
| Sstagtikk | staque t'y | attache t'y |
| Sskelja | squeleja | escalader |
| Teïla ou Teïlu | tela | mettre de la toile |
| | teulou | madrier |
| Daïna | daina | daine |
| Kurka | courca | creuser |
| Kam Mosst | cam most | champ de moût |
| Unu | uñou | union |
| Böjukk | be iuk | droit |
| Belbekk | bel bec | voile je vois |
| Kosatschk | cossats | frappés à coups de pied |
| Kopschakk | capzat | emboîté |
| Kary | cari | chérir |
| Karssann | carician | ils caressent |
| Ssollarr | solar | coteau au soleil |
| Arpasch | arpas | serres d'un oiseau |
| Katschikk | cap sec | bois coupé sec |
| Mangutt | mangot | mitaine |
| Adikk | addict | adonné |
| Baschbekk | baix beg | je vois en bas |
| Karatsch | caïrats | soliveaux |
| Kerleutt | ker leu | roc rapide |
| Koschai | coxal | pièce de bois |
| Porpatsch | poü arrepats | terrifiés |
| Korpetsch | corbets | petits corbeaux |
| Kardonn | cardons | chardons |
| Kuletsch | coulets | petits choux |
| Ssargyll | sarreguill | sable fin |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Alatsch | alats | ailés |
| Ssemenn | semen | semence |
| Juischun | jusq'ahon | jusqu'où |
| Tatarr | tatar | téter |
| Ortaï | ortal | jardin |
| Kobekk | cabèque | chouette |
| Kutschböj | coutje bai | couche bas |
| Kokei | qu quei | qui est-ce? |
| Barakk | baraque | baraque |
| Appakk | apat | appât |
| Otarr | ou tard | sourd |
| Takett | taquet | étançon |
| Otuss | oü tous | entend tousser |
| Ssujuk | sujut | couvert de suint |
| Kuplakk | couplat | accouple |
| Esski | esqui | je mets l'appât |
| Toklukk | tot cluque | ferme les deux yeux |
| Ssudakk | suat | en transpiration |
| Dshurgann | sourjan | prennent du suint |
| Kanly | canely | canalisé |
| Burjuss | bourrellous | floconneux |
| Togaï | dogal | corde du bât |
| Bary | berry | accoupler le verrat |
| Bura | bourra | ânesse |
| Weïratt | verriat | verrat accouplé |
| Mamak | mamat | allaité |
| Abdall | ab dalle | avec la faux |
| Ssaraï | sarral | sommet élevé |
| Bitakk | viedat | circulation |
| Butke | bodeguer | sommelier |
| Kangill | ganguil | lévrier |
| Badrakk | ba de raig | coule par un filet |
| Kotschmess | cotje mes | incline davantage |
| Atschkall | atxe cals | prépare la chaux |
| Tscholman | sol mane | commande le soleil |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kurtscha | courretjà | lier avec des courroies |
| Bijukk | vie, iuk | dresse la voie |
| Tschorgann | sorrejan | ensablent |
| Jankoï | jan colle | attèle les gens |
| Orta | orta | grand jardin |
| Ssobla | sopla | supplie |
| Asek | à sec | à sec |
| Kanysch | ca n'ix | chien en sort |
| Burlukk | bourrellout | floconneux |
| Tschii | xii | fuyez (aux volatiles) |
| Kontsche | conche | coussin |
| Butenn | bouten | ils enflent l'outre |
| Dsaïschi | salsi | je sauce |
| Kitaï | qui taille | qui coupe |
| Burnasch | bourrounas | gros âne |
| Memisch | meu mitg | moitié à moi |
| Tibeï | t'y beï | je t'y vois |
| Kisakk | quissat | excité |
| Tschalgarr | s'algar | se couvrier d'algue |
| Scheichkoï | cegue colle | moissonneurs |
| Tegesch | texeix | tisse |
| Schuike | xuque | suce |
| Isspatt | ix cepat | cepage qui paraît |
| Takill | ta quille | te plante droit |
| Kultschukk | cull xuc | récolte du liquide |
| Atmunn | alt mon | au sommet |
| Schonukk | xanuque | hache très-menu |
| Tobaï | tobaille | nappe |
| Koptschakk | cop de sac | à plein sac |
| Mataï | matall | métal |
| Kaïnault | canat | mesuré |
| N'uïmann | n'ull mane | commande des yeux |
| T'aïgann | t'aygann | on te mouille |
| Kurtlukk | courtellout | en bergerie |
| Molbaï | moll baï | bas fond humide |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Bescheff | baixès | mauvaise récolte |
| Koktasch | cucadas | plein de vers |
| Dshaparr | sapar | couvrir de souches |
| Kaulykk | canalit | canalisé |
| Muschaï | mouchall | moustique |
| Melekk | melet | petit miel |
| Tekle | tecle | article écrit |
| Uschunn | uix un | l'un sort |
| Ssudshutt | sussut | couvert de reprises |
| Dshemrykk | xam ric | ruche riche |
| Missirr | miseri | misère |
| Majakk | mallat | frappé du maillet |
| Akkschikk | achique | relève |
| Temesch | temeix | a peur |
| Kuurdagh | courda | cordeler |
| Kuschkii | cutje aqui | couche là |
| Akkoss | à cos | au corps |
| Kamysch | camis | chemins |
| Schelenn | gelen | ils gèlent |
| Boröun | bouroum | bourgeon |
| Kopschorr | cop sorre | force sable |
| Arpatt ou Arpall | arpat<br>arrepall | coup de serre<br>pillage |
| Usskutt | escoute | écoute (ou ous coste, côte de l'ours) |
| Tuakk | touat | évidé |
| Türkdagh | tira queda | s'arrêter en tirant |
| Schumma | xuma | flairer |
| Kurklett | courcalet | petit creux |
| Artekk | ar teix | tisse le filet de pêche |
| Kojasch | collas | colliers |
| Kasskann | cace cans | chasse au chien |
| Schikann | xican | soulèvent |
| Baschaul | baixal | descente |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Ortaul | ortal | jardins |
| Kossaul | costal | charge d'un côté |
| Tschabakk | sabat | en sève |
| Opukk | oü poc | entend peu |
| Gaïti | gaïti | je guette |
| Kani | cani | je mesure |
| Aty | a di | à dire |
| Kluoba | cloba | enveloppe |
| Andriss | andres | magasin |
| Ssunskukk | sum s'cuque | légèrement piqué |
| Abdy | ab dy | avec parole |
| Otasch | o taxe | y taxe |
| Chreja | croïa | craie |
| Andagh | anda | parc en corde |
| Tamann | ta mane | te commande |
| Kischla | qu'ix allà | qui sort là |
| Kischly | qu'ix alli | qui sort ici |
| Bragi | bragui | j'entoure |
| Ssaibasch | sa y baxe | on y descend |
| Boghas | bogas | plantes marécag. |
| Russkyrkk | rusque courque | ruche creuse |

*Noms de Lieu trisyllabiques.* (*Handtke.*) *Crimée.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dshangutann | sanglutan | ils sanglottent |
| Ilgeri | algueri | se couvrir d'algue |
| Bagata | bagata | coteau opposé au soleil |
| Tupp Abbass | tap a baix | bouchon à bas |
| Tupp Kangyll | tap qu'engull | bouchon mauvais |
| Bojssallarr | baixa l'ar | abaisse le filet de pêche |
| Ssadaktschi | sadassi | je tamise |
| Berekett | barrequet | petite baraque |
| Kuttlejarr | culejar | agir du derrière |
| Mullahkoi | moulla coll | mouillé au col |
| Kulltschara | cul charra | bavarde du derrière |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kodshangull | cotse angull | supprime les courbes |
| Mursalarr | mussa l'ar | use le filet de pêche |
| Kulloba | culobra | couleuvre |
| Kurudshaga | grout cega | moissonne du son |
| Dshangara | sangra | saigner |
| Bescherann | baixeran | ils descendront |
| Buitene | buitene | le huitième |
| Eschkene | esquene | l'échine |
| Scheich Manak | cegue mañac | moissonne doucement |
| Alataï | ala taill | tranchant de l'aile |
| Koppotass | cop potas | coups de pied |
| Assotass | assotas | coups de bâton |
| Beikadsha | be y caça | bien y chasse |
| Akk Mamaï | al mamal | au tétage |
| Meschketschi | m'esquetxi | je me déchire |
| Karamusch | cara muxe | face flasque |
| Karamysch | cara mitge | face à moitié |
| Kanaan | canan | ils mesurent |
| Torpantschi | tor pansi | établissement des raisins secs |
| Ssabantschi | sa pansi | se dessécher |
| Temischass | te mitjas | possède des jambières |
| Tagoroull | taco roulle | le bâton manœuvre |
| Korpolu | cor palut | poitrine velue |
| Cogenesch | caguenes | latrines |
| Aktatschi | at taxi | je te taxe |
| Kortbii | cort bii | je dirige court |
| Kartabekk | cart ta beg | je te vois cher |
| Alidermen | alli dormen | là on dort |
| Mussala | mussolà | lieu fréquenté des oiseaux |
| Kull Ssadykk | cul xadic | derrière d'une bêche |
| Dortt Ssakall | tort sacall | bois sec contourné |
| Taffbusarr | ta fa busar | te fait flatter |
| Kopparann | cop a ram | coup près du sol |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Dallitscharr | dal llisar | glisser de haut |
| Kumakinn ou Kuttjakinn | couma agin<br>coste je quin | qu'ils aient la cime<br>qu'ils laissent la côte |
| Kartschega | cart cega | moissonner cher |
| Kulascheich | cula xèx | le derrière au blé |
| Kopkijat | cop guiat | coup dirigé |
| Tschagyltaï | cegui l'tail | moissonne à la coupe |
| Ataïlschikk | a tail sec | à coupe sèche |
| Tanabaï | ten a baï | tient à bas |
| Baïssary | baï sarry | besace à bas |
| Tuitepe | tut a peu | tout à pied |
| Shalantusch | salan taxo | salent du blaireau |
| Dshangilarr | s'anguilar | s'introduire |
| Baïbolusch | baï bol uixe | bas veut issue |
| Jaussakall | jau sacall | ce qui est sec, à terre |
| Keletsche | calexé | casier |
| Tomabiess | toma biex | prend de biais |
| Tamamjusch | t'aman jous | on t'aime dessous |
| Biissu | bii sou | je dirige dessous |
| Tokultschakk | toc cul de sac | touche le fond du sac |
| Japundshi | ja punxi | je pointe |
| Teguntschu | te junctio | a jonction |
| Oïlsersekk | oïl sers seca | écoute le vent assèche |
| Togaily | tot gaily | tout coq |
| Tokkscharirr | totxa riure | rire stupide |
| Baïbulat | baï sbulat | bas éboulé |
| Kaïmatschi | call matxi | voie muletière |
| Boragann | borragam | agneaux d'un an |
| Mursabekk | murca beg | je bois du dépôt |
| Dsharogatsch | sarro gatxe | sac en gage |
| Ssarybasch | sa riu baix | rit tout bas |
| Taroquell | terros guell | gué terreux |
| Dshaffhadshi | sa fatxi | qu'il se fâche |
| Kodshambakk | cotj'en bac | couche opposé au soleil |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Amanscha | à manchà | au soufflet de forge |
| Bajassty | ballasti | user de l'arc |
| Keneguess | que n'aguès | qu'il y en eût ! |
| Kokktana | coca d'ana | gâteau de voyage |
| Ossmantschikk | os mante sec | l'ours garantit de l'eau |
| Kustchukkass | coste chucas | côte qui s'épuise |
| Kojuntschu | cojunctio | réunion |
| Kemettschi | que meltai | que la rate souffre |
| Kadagaï | ca d'agaït | chien de garde |
| Oïmamschakk | oü mama sac | l'œuf tète le sac |
| Daudeli | deüde alli | dette là |
| Tscherkensikk | cerquen sec | ils cherchent un lieu sec |
| Dshaniminn | s'animin | qu'ils s'animent |
| Baschlitscha | baix lissa | bas glisse |
| Dshaffboldu | saf bol dou | veut emporter sauf |
| Bojkabasch | baï cabats | terrains bêchés bas |
| Schegelakk | cegue llaque | moisson alignée (ou cheglat, sarclé) |
| Aushinbett | su sim beste | va t'en au sommet |
| Arokesch | aroqueix | court les rochers |
| Kutschkabasch | cutxe cabats | aplanit les terres bêchées |
| Baïbassty | baï basti | je place le bât bas |
| Tipptobe | tippe te be | rassasie toi bien |
| Tokkssaba | toc se ba | dès qu'on sonne il part |
| Dshabagi | sa bagi | qu'il parte |
| Shabantschi | s'abanai | qu'il s'avance |
| Abaslarr | abaixe l'ar | il abaisse le filet de pêche |
| Ossalaï | ousse l'aïl | avance l'ail |
| Bulatschi | sboula s'y | s'éboule là |
| Buletschikk | boulet chic | petit champignon |
| Kurulu | courrelou | petite bergerie |
| Ssaltoba | salta o ba | il l'a sauté |
| Akkkuju | al coullou | au testicule |
| Kontugann | condugan | qu'ils conduisent |
| Kartoglu | cart ouillou | arrosage cher |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Tokktscharly | toc charli | que le son bavarde |
| Ssidshemutt | sitje mut | puits muet |
| Aïkugull | al cougoul | au cocu |
| Karadscha | caraja | traîner (ou charrier) |
| Bulatschi | boula s'y | s'éboule |
| Kogenli | couguen lli | filent du lin |
| Otarrtschikk | oü tard chic | dur d'oreille |
| Treablan | triplan | ils triplent |
| Ortaablan | ort tablan | divisent les platebandes |
| Elgeri | elguere | terrain d'algues |
| Kirmasche | quermeche | morve qui coule |
| Kijabakk | guie abat | chef de travailleurs |
| Kermatschi | ker matxi | roche à mulets |
| Aïssabeï | alsa beï | hausser je vois |
| Morsatschikk | morsat sec | gazon desséché |
| Karajurt | carallut | ignorant |
| Beïgeldi | beï gueldi | je vois manger |
| Kalbele | cals velle | chaux ancienne |
| Tschobotarr | xo botar | halte et prenez du vin |
| Aschoa | axougue | essuie |
| Kamyschli | cami geli | chemin glacé |
| Kentugann | qu'en dougan | qu'on en apporte |
| Utschkuju | uix couillou | hernie |
| Baïkoudu | bail qu'om dou | danse ou l'homme porte |
| Kuldshenaï | cul cenaïl | tison enflammé |
| Balkosha | ba'l cotjà | va coucher |
| Kisilbaï | quissi l' bail | je pousse à danser |
| Biitenn | bi y ten | y tient du vin |
| Ssamartschikk | samar sec | liquide diminué au sec |
| Ssoltanasch | soltat naxe | naître libre |
| Dshelischaï | salis sail | il y pousse des arbrisseaux |
| Konkary | con cari | presque enchérir |
| Kyschkara | qui s'cara | qui fait face |
| Kotschkara | coutje cara | couche de face |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Baïkasakk | baï casaque | bas casaque |
| Karttkasakk | cart casaque | chère casaque |
| Utschilga | axeliga | faire peur |
| Karatschaï | carats aïl | ail tressé |
| Dengeltschikk | tengue l'sec | tien le sec |
| Karanki | carranque | précipices |
| Toïtebe | tote be | boit bien |
| Kotagann | cot' agan | qu'ils aient un prix fixe (une côte) |
| Kischkari | qu'ix cari? | qui sort enchérir? |
| Tschantogann | s'andugan | qu'ils emportent |
| Koktschekoss | coutzecos | coudé |
| Ormantschi | or mantchi | je fonds de l'or |
| Algasy | alguessé | gardien de haras |
| Kirkuschunn | curq uix ahunt | où sort la caverne |
| Terekly | terre cali | terre chaude |
| Tarakaï | tarragail | fond d'humus |
| Birjatsche | virjasse | vieille vierge |
| Oteschel | o desgele | le dégèle |
| Jewelscheich | ja vel' sec | déjà arrive le sec |
| Jedischel | ja desgele | déjà il dégèle |
| Bulganakk | boulcanat | sens dessus-dessous |
| Ssalblakoï | salve l'a coll | sauve-le sur le col |
| Dsaff Dshurekk | saf souret | liége qui flotte sauf |
| Ulakly | oulla cali | marmite chaude |
| Akktschokrakk | al soquerrat | à l'incendie |
| Esskijurt | es court | c'est court |
| Aramkoï | a rame coll | fagots sur le col |
| Jukary | juq arri | allons, droit sur les jambes |
| Tontschikoï | tronchi col | pied de chou |
| Aktatschi | at tatxi | je te taxe |
| Dshangurel | sang arrel | racine du sang |
| Tschat Kara | s'at cara | se compare à toi |
| Kalantaï | galan tail | gros morceau |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Arantsche | arronssé | approche |
| Esskiel | es quell | c'est celui-là |
| Koschdermenn | cotje termens | abat les bodules |
| Teberty | t'aberty | t'avertir |
| Tatarkoï | tâtar coll | téter sur le col |
| Ssiwritasch | siuredas | gros chêne liége |
| Koluluss | col ulious | chou (dit) d'huile |
| Bogatyrr | bogadir | lessiver |
| Muchaldyrr | mouchait tire | attire les moucherons |
| Gawardikk | gaffa ardit | saisit les plus hardis |
| Kermentschikk | kermens chics | petits vers |
| Hadshi*koï* | assi coll | ici transport à dos |
| Magarasch | magatras | plateau caché |
| Ssinabdagh | simedas | gros sommet |
| Jamantash | ja mantas | déjà tu t'enveloppes |
| Jaïladagh | geladas | lieu très-froid |
| Aïpetri | alt pedris | perron élevé |
| Kysylltasch | quissi l'taxe | j'excite la taxe |
| Aïdanil | alt da niu | haut de nid (ou ayda gniul, aide à miauler) |
| Nikita | niu quita | quitte le nid |
| Dere*koï* | derré coll | dernier défilé |
| Marssanda | marchanda | trafiquer |
| Alupka | a lloup ca | au loup le chien |
| Lemena | lemena | lamaner |
| Kikineïss | qui que n'eix | qui en sort? |
| Kutschukk*koï* | coutzout coll | défilé tortueux |
| Kalendy | calenti | je réchauffe |
| Usunshi | usen s'y | ils s'habituent |
| Rukussta | roc costa | côte de rochers |
| Karany | carañy | carène |
| Kadi*koï* | cap de colle | chef de troupe |
| Camara | camarro | porte faix |
| Tschorguna | xorq' una | ongle stérile |
| Aïtodor | alt todor | haut protecteur |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kabarta | cuberta | navire sous cape |
| Salan*koï* | salancolle | compagnie qui sale |
| Osenbasch | o sen baix | entend en bas |
| Otarr*koï* | o terr à coll | y porte la terre à dos |
| Duwan *koï* | dou fan a coll | chargent à dos |
| Kamyschly | cami geli | chemin froid |
| Inkermann | en ker mane | commande dans le rocher |
| Tschaltymirr | salt t'y mires | tu prends garde en sautant |
| Dulatschinn | douill al sim | cruche au sommet |
| Dautebe | d'alt te be | de haut te vient |
| Taschaltschinn | taxa l'sim | taxe le sommet |
| Baschkirgis | baix qui regues | en bas tu arroses |
| Karahbije | carros bie | dirige des charrois |
| Taschkatschikk | taxe qu'es sec | taxe, il fait sec |
| Ssabeke | sab a que | sait à quoi |
| Ssishigutt | s'es sagut | s'est assis |
| Tabetschikk | teu be sec | le sec t'est favorable |
| Tuluntschakk | toulouns ajat | madriers taillés (ou toulounejat, couvert de, etc.) |
| Koïhassann | coll a sang | col ensanglanté |
| Oïkuju | oï couyou | ah ! par les testicules ! (ou l'œuf du testicule) |
| Ssarygöl | sorreguëll | gué ensablé |
| Butegesch | budegueix | il vendange |
| Butegenn | boudeguem | vendangeons |
| Sseïd eli | sed alli | soif là |
| Hassannbei | a sang be | vient au sang |
| Karagoss | carragos | pesant |
| Baïbugas | baï bougas | plantes marécageuses basses |
| Barakkkull | barraque ull | œil de baraque |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Bakatascch | vaca taxe | tache de vache |
| Imarett | i marète | et petite mère |
| Nassyt*koï* | nas y t'colle | attèle par le nez |
| Mankermenn | mane kermens | commande aux vers |
| Tschugerti | xucar t'y | t'y nourrir |
| Scheich Mamaï | xèx mame alt | le blé fin tête haut |
| Basartschikk | bassar sec | verser à sec |
| Otartschikk | oü tard chic | dur d'oreille |
| Scheicheli | xèx alli | là du blé fin |
| Mursa*koï* | mursa coll | gazon jusqu'au col |
| Burundukk | bourroun duc | je porte des bourgeons |
| Akktschora | al sorrà | au sable |
| Borr*kaja* | bore casa | maison du bord |
| Ossmantschikk | os mante sec | l'ours enveloppe à sec |
| Krynitschki | crim itschqui | que le crin sorte (ou sortir de Crimée) |
| Kargalykk | care gallic | visage de Gaulois |
| Ssuukkssaly | souc salli | que les souches sortent |
| Sstaryi Krimm | star y crim | que le crin reste (ou rester en Crimée) |
| Schach Mursa | s'asmoursa | on déjeûne |
| Elbusla | albolà | couvert d'arbres |
| Ortalann | ortolans | jardiniers |
| Kabakktasch | cabat taxe | taxe bêchage |
| Koktebel | colgue te bele | à bas la voile |
| Aisseres | aïsseres | haussières (agrès) |
| Turaktasch ou Taraktasch | turradas | grand amas de terres cuites |
| | tarradas | gros toit en briques |
| Karatschunn | carats son | ils sont confrontés |
| Kasskule | cace coulé | cherche machine à cailler |
| Botschela | bo gela | bonne glace |
| Koïarann | colle a ram | attèle de près |
| Boj Dshawlisch | bai salits | saules nains |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Assberdy | asberdy | couper les buissons |
| Buragann | bouragam | troupeau d'antenois (ou bargan, futé) |
| Ssuinadshe | souil naxe | naître sans cornes |
| Tschokurtscha | s'ascourcha | s'écorcher |
| Ssyrische | s'y reixe | s'y réussir (ou arroser) |
| Dshinssofu | sens so fu | partit sans cela |
| Bodana | bode ana | aller à la noce |
| Tschokurel | soqurrell | genêt épineux |
| Mullawli | mulla lli | mouille le lin |
| Karagarr | carragar | charger |
| Jamurtscha | i a smurza | y a-t-il à déjeuner? |
| Ssalgirtschikk | saill gire sec | tourne le limon sec |
| Totaï*koï* | tote al coll | boit au défilé |
| Kilburunn | quille bouroum | pousse des bourgeons |
| Schu Muchaï | xu mouchaïl | chasse les moustiques |
| Apa*koï* | à pa a coll | chercher le pain à dos |
| Tscheschmedshi | s'esmetji | se divise en deux |
| Aratukk | ara douc | maintenant je porte |
| Tscharoke | sarro que | quoi dans la besace? |
| Takondu | ta condu | te conduit |
| Oschoa | oüs soua | transpirer des testicules |
| Karagatsch | carragats | chargés |
| Kobasa | cabassà | mettre en cabas |
| Almutschikk | alt music | haut musicien |
| Weïssniki | vesse n'y aqui | versez en là |
| Bijeli | bi geli | vin glacé |
| Kotschkajel | coutje ca gel | le froid fait coucher le chien |
| Tscherkessjel | cerques gel | tu cherches la glace |
| Kodshuchjel | coutsout gel | glacier contourné |
| Bagaily | bac alli | coteau exposé au nord là bas |
| Tschii | xii | fuyez (aux volatiles) |
| Jekibasch | i aqui baix | et là-bas au-dessous |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Barantschi | barrañs | terrains précipices (carrangs y barrangs) |
| Sehile | xiulé | lieu où l'on siffle |
| Kasantschi | casan s'y | s'y marient |
| Kudaschikk | coustas sec | grosse côte sèche |
| Mentlerschik | meller chic | amandier nain |
| Kasaïlarr | casa y llar | maison et lard |
| Tuwatai | tout fa tail | tout sert |
| Werchnaja | vernaja | hiverner |
| Kermensche | kermensé | amas de vers |
| Kentugaï | cante gaill | chante coq |
| Dermenshi | dormen s'y | s'y endorment |
| Koïeli | coll geli | défilé glacé |
| Biitanysch | bi y tañeix | vin y teint |
| Kirkkaanly | curcan llit | creusent un lit |
| Kartmyschykk | cart moussec | bouchée chère |
| Sseïdmursa | scythe moursa | le scythe déjeune |
| Dshabanakk | sabanat | champ d'ognons |
| *Esskenderr* | esquen d'ere | amorcent de l'aire |
| Aktatschi | at taxi | je t'impose une tâche |
| Ssarabuss | sa rabuste | on grappille |
| Tschujuntschu | sou juncciò | sous la jonction |
| Chanjeli | cam geli | champ glacé |
| Dshamataï | xam a taill | semence à la volée par partie |
| Terenaïrr | terreng à ire | terrains à jurements |
| Masanki | magenqui | je bine la vigne |
| Fundukly | found doug llit | lit de rivière torrentielle |
| Asamátt | a samat | a diminué (liquide) |
| Hadshilarr | atxi llar | je tranche du lard |
| Akkkaja | a casa | à la maison |
| Bachtschieli | bac s'y geli | coteau opposé au soleil, on y gèle |
| Mussabei | mursa bei | je vois du gazon |
| Scheicheli | xèx alli | là du blé fin |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Borkaja | bore casa | maison sur le bord |
| Agane eli | agané alli | dépôt de juments là |
| Burasschan | bourrassan | se servent d'une toile |
| Otschinneli | oixin alli | qu'ils sortent là |
| Kasyeli | case geli | maison glacée |
| Kasanly | casan lli' | emmagasinent du lin |
| Tscherdikly | serredit llit | lit de rivière élevé |
| Ssartana | sardana | danse des cerdans |
| Aïlanniu ou Aïlanma | aïl en niu / aïl en ma | ail au nid[24] / ail en main[25] |
| Tschermalikk | germa llit | frère au lit |
| Schegene | ceguené | lieu où l'on moissonne |
| Tschagani ou Tschigene | cega n'y / xique né | moissonnez y / relevez en |
| Kultepe | cul te pet | le derrière tient le vent (ou cull stepe) |
| Karalarr | cara llar | visage long |
| Beschjewli | beixès lli | mauvaise récolte de lin |
| Malbabtschikk | malbat seque | le méchant se dessèche |
| Kanrama | cans ramat | chiens de berger |
| Hadshieli | assi alli | par ci par là |
| Tschokkbeschkoï | soc pese coll | pèse le bois à dos |
| Akkburunn | al bouroun | au bourgeon |
| Tscharubasch | sarru baix | basse besace |
| Petrafil | pedra fil | pierre affilée |
| Jailadagh | geladas | lieu glacial |
| Karadagh | keradas | amas de rochers |
| Pakalldagh | pa cal das | lieu où le pain manque |
| Demirdshi | temirs'y | y prendre garde |
| Korbekly | cor be caliu | le cœur devient chaud |

[24] Ou aïslan niu—isolent le nid.

[25] Ou aïslan ma—isolent la main.

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Aluschta | a l'uix sta | est prêt à sortir |
| Jeni*koï* | gen y colle | y attèle des hommes |
| Dermen*koï* | dormen colle | dorment par troupe |
| Parthenil | par tenil' | pour retenir |
| Dshantschora | s'ansorra | s'ensable |
| Hijali | y geli | j'y gèle |
| Daudeli | deude lli | dette en lin |
| Tobetschikk | t'o beig sec | je te vois à sec |
| Schungulekk | soum goulet | canal superficiel |
| Usunlarr | usen llar | emploient le lard |
| Schleichhassann | cegassan | moissonnent mal |
| Kopptakill | cop da quille | coup de quille |
| Ssuineli | souin alli | qu'ils suent là |
| Schurelekk | sourrelet | petit amas de sable |
| Kirkkkojasch | curque jasse | creuse une cour |
| Kobani | coban y | y creusent (ou cou bafiy, bain qui cuit) |
| Tschokrakkköï | soquerrat coll<br>ou<br>sorrat guell | défilé brûlé<br>ou<br>gué ensable |
| Puschakaï | puja cal | il faut monter |
| Barischkannn | ba risquan | cours le risque |
| Kluoba | cloba | enveloppe |
| Schumukai | xu mucail | chasse la morve |
| Schemerdann | s'esmerdan | ont la diarrhée |
| Tschelebi | xelibi | je salive |
| Kupassdinn | cupas dins | coupes dedans |
| Kukuoba | coü coba | caverne qui cuit (volcan de 1794) |
| Kerkinitt | ker cugnièt | pierre à coin |
| Perecop | pera cop | pierre à coup |

*Bords de la Mer d'Azoff et de la Mer-Noire. Rivières. (Andriveau Goujon.)*

| *Orthographe française.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Tchétachil (cours d'eau) | chête agil | robinet agile |
| Karsak (id.) | scarsat | nettoyé |
| Apanli (id.) | a panne llit | lit plat |
| Doniouzli (id.) | danious llit | lit dangereux |
| Antchokrak (id.) | ansorrat | ensablé |
| Molatcha (id.) | mollassa | humidités |
| Mastchenak (id.) | matzinat | empoisonné |
| Molotchouie (id.) | | |
| Malaïa Outliouka (id.) | mal aja ullou | maudit cours d'eau |
| Bolchaïa Outliouka (id.) | bol s'aga ullou (*ka* term.) | béni cours d'eau |
| Outliouka (id.) | oullou | cours d'eau |
| Chekli Jouchanli (id.) | secalli juncalli | joncs qui se sèchent |
| Behimtchokrak (id.) | vehins sorrat | voisins ensablés |

*Eaux de la Mer-Noire.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Karatchikrak (cours d'eau) | carat girat | face et revers |
| Bielozerka (id.) | bie lo cert (*ka* term.) | dirige le bien |
| Podgalna, ou Podn (point du Dnieper) | potte gallna | patte de gallinacée |
| Konka, ou Konskaïa (cours d'eau) | conca | grande assiette |
| Podpalna (id.) | pote palna | patte de pal |
| Kozalskaïa (id.) | casalqueja | construit des monticules |
| Tchaïka (id.) | xeca | relève (ou chaï-agneau *ka* term.) |
| Dnieper ou Borysthene (fleuve) | niu perd ou bores ten | perd le nied ou tient dans ses bords |

| *Orthographe française.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Ingoulets (cours d'eau tortueux) | engoulleix | avale |
| Ingoul (id.) | engoull | avale |
| Boug (fleuve) . | bouc | ruche à miel |
| Tsaregol (cours d'eau) | sorre güell | sable au gué |
| Telegout (id.) | tela goute | s'infiltre |
| Balaïtchouk (id.) | sbalaït xouc | liquide qui disparaît |
| Maliiadjalik (id.) | malehi aja llit | maudit } obtient un lit |
| Boladjalik (id.) . | bol aja llit | béni } |
| Sredniikouialnik (id.) | s'reteni coxal net | maudit } bras nettoye |
| Maliikouialnik (id.) | malehi coxal net | béni } |

*Bords de la Mer d'Azoff. Rivières. (Andriveau Goujon.)*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kouban (fleuve) | coban | creusement |
| Napsoukkou (cours d'eau) | naps chougou | breuvage des navets |
| Kroucoups (id.) | croc coutse, | croc coudé |
| Kroukhats (id.) | croc caps | croc en pointe |
| Zbiouga (id.) | s'biga | admet une passerelle |
| Nepsal (id.) | nepsal | champ de navets |
| Atakoum (id.) | atacoum | écluses |
| Koudakho (id.) | coue da ca | queue de chien |
| Kara Kouban (id.) | cara kouban | parallèle du Kouban |
| Protoka (id.) | prat toca | touche aux praries |
| Boughour (id.) | boukour | lieu de ruches à miel |
| Soulou Koulek (id.) | solo gulet | goulet de sole |
| Tchermaïprotok (id.) | germal prat toque | touche les prés fraternellement |
| Kozaltchüerik (id.) | casal s'y es ric | maison s'y enrichit |
| Angali (id.) | angulli | avaler |
| Nosov (id.) | nasou | en forme de nez |
| Skalovatoïo (id.) | scalibat ollo | cours effarouché (disséminé) |

| *Orthographe française.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Lagoutnik (id.) | l'ayga tenit | l'eau teinte |
| Don (fleuve avec les 3 bouches :) | done | femme |
| Ternovoie | terre nova | terre nouvelle |
| Starii Vegourtcha | star y bé courretja | estaries dangereuses |
| Mokraïa Kolantcha | m'o creïa calanca | estaries tranquilles |
| Jelantchik (cours d'eau) | y es llanxit | parcouru par les nacelles |
| Kalmious (id.) | calmious | bords à pic |
| Kattchik (id. très-tortueux) | gat chic | petit chat |
| Bielosaraï (id.) | bie lo sarral | dirige le sable |
| Mokraïa (id.) | mou croïa | entraîne de la craie |
| Zelenaïa (id.) | salineja | contient du limon ou sel |
| Kamitchevata (id.) | camida civada | chemin de l'avoine |
| Berda (id.) | berda | se couvre de buissons et ronces |
| Keltoch (id.) | güell toque | touche le gué |
| Djermalgach (id.) ou | germalgas ou | lieu de production ou |
| Obitotchnaïa | o bitotjeneja | se couvre de pinnes marines |

*Crimée. Caps, côtes, rivières, montagnes, étangs, etc. (Handtke.)*

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Tege (rivière) | teg | il tisse (le *Tech*, riv. Pyr.-Or.) |
| Owraggschaïrli (id.) | ouragge charli | fait du bruit après l'orage |
| Ssalgirr (id.) | saill gire | roule du limon |
| Bulganakk (id.) | boulquanat | renverse |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Boghass (rivière) | bogas | plein de plantes marécageuses |
| Karawa (id.) | creba | sort de son lit |
| Ssamartschikk (id.) | samar sec | le dessécher tout à fait |
| Tscheterlikk (id.) | xeter llit | lit de robinet |
| Owragkakaï (id.) | ouragge cagaïl | dévoiement |
| Alma (id.) | a le ma | à la main |
| Bodrakk (id.) | boterrat | barré |
| Meneor (id.) | ménor | mineur |
| Kuisse (id.) | coussé | se débat |
| Katscha (id.) | catsa | caisse |
| Marta (id.) | marda | laxatif (riv. *Merdé*, Pyr.-Or.) |
| Chatana (id.) | cheta ana | couler en robinet |
| Stilia (id.) | stilla | clarifie |
| Böjukkusen ou Tschernaja (id. avec canal et prise d'eau) | bé ioug usen | s'en servent tout droit |
| | serren alla | on rétrécit là |
| Schulu (id.) | gelou | glace |
| Baïdarr (id.) | badar | rester béant |
| Aratukk (id.) | ara tout | laboure tout |
| Malssalgirr (id.) | mal saill gire | mauvais limon entraîne |
| Tschujuntschu (id.) | sou junctio | sous le confluent |
| Beschterekk (id.) | besse te rec | déverse-toi, rivière |
| Suja assma (id.) | sua a sama | diminue à peine |
| Funduklu (id.) | fund dug lou | fond qui porte (glacé) |
| Montanaï (id.) | montagnal | vient des montagnes |
| Burultscha (id.) | bourroulleja | floconneux |
| Tschurukkssa (id.) | churuqueja | par petit filet |
| Tunass (id.) | tunas | emporté |
| Aschil (id.) | agil | rapide |
| Andal (id.) | andal | reçoit les parcs de brébis |
| Kuru Andal (id.) | courrou andal | alimente l'*andal* (support ou gond) |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Ssubasch (rivière) | s'abaixe | baisse |
| Nachitschewantschokakk (id.) | naxit se ban chucat | sitôt né sitôt dévié pour l'arrosage |
| Tschurukkssu (id.) | churuquessou | petit filet |
| Aluschta (id.) | a lou cheta | au robinet |
| Dshaldachann (cap) | salt da cans | saut de chiens |
| Kaldantipp (id.) | caldo an tip | cordial pour l'indigestion |
| Kasantipp (id.) | caçan tip | chassent l'indigestion |
| Dengeltipp (id.) | d'anguille tip | indigestion d'anguilles |
| Karamrunn (id) | keram grûn | rochers qui grondent |
| Eskiforos ou Tarchan Kutt (id.) | esqui fora<br>tarrejan costa | j'amorce dehors<br>côte terreuse |
| Oïratt Urrett (id.) | ora turrat | bord desséché |
| Baba (id.) | baba | il bave |
| Ulukull ou Lukull (id.) | ulu cull | hurlement recueille |
| Chersones (id.) | kersons | rochers |
| Aja (id.) | alla | en dehors |
| Ssaritsch (id.) | sa risque | hasardeux |
| Kikineiss (id.) | qui que n'eix | qui en sort |
| Nikita (id.) | niu quita | laisse son nid |
| Tschikenn (id.) | xiquen | relèvent |
| Meganomm (id.) | magan om | cachent l'homme |
| Karadagh (id.) | kerada | amas de rochers |
| Kiitatlama (id.) | qui y tact la ma | ici on donne la main |
| Tschawdar ou Taschkatschikk (id.) | safedar ou taxe qu'ets sec | sauvetage ou taxe ce qui est sec |
| Durmenn (id.) | dormen | ils dorment |
| Sykk (id.) | sec | sec |
| Fanar (id.) | fenar | travailler vite (ou fan ar, font des filets) |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Akkburunn (cap) | al bruñ | au rocher qui brille (là sont des eaux minérales) |
| Takli (id.) | te caliu | est chaud |
| Opukk (id.) | ou pout | sent l'œuf |
| Tusla (id.) | tous alla | guérit la toux |
| Panagia (id.) | panaja | produire du pain |
| Kischla (id.) | qu'ix alla | qui sort là |
| Pekla (id.) | be cla | s'éclaircit |
| Mysskamennoï (id.) | m'ixqua manoll | sorte un homme de main |
| Schegene ou Tschagani (falaises) | ceguené ou cega n'y | lieu à moissonner |
| Ajudagh (cap) | ayuda | aide |
| Böjukkkarassu (riv.) | bé iouk kersou | droit rocailleux |
| Kutschukkkarassu (id. affl.) | coutzout kerso | coudé rocailleux |
| Temirdshi (id.) | temir s'y | y prendre garde |
| Andussu (id.) | andou s'ou | entraîne avec lui |
| Ssujukkssu (id.) | sou junccio | sous le confluent |
| Usskuttusen (id.) | escoute ou sens | écoute, tu l'entends |
| Baïbugas (id.) | baï bougas | bas dépôt de plantes marécageuses |
| Zykur (étang salé) | s'y curt | y a cours |
| Halilalgil (id.) | à l'ille al guill | à l'île le rocher |
| Kirkk (id.) | curq | creux |
| Kirleutt (id.) | ker leu | roc léger |
| Tarkann (id.) | tarrejan | la terre y paraît |
| Donkuslaff (id. intérieur) | | |
| Missirr ou Tschokrakk (étang) | miseri ou soquerrat | misère ou desséché |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Tobetschikk ou Ortel, etc. (étang salé) | ta beig sec ou ortal | je te vois à sec ou jardins |
| Pakalldagh (pic désert) | pa cal da | il faut donner du pain |
| Ssamarkaja (id.) | sa marca ja | commence à indiquer déjà |
| Türkdagh (id.) | tira queda | l'attelage s'arrête |
| Paratlidagh (id.) | parat li da | pré lui donne |
| Jenikoï (id.) | gen y colle | gens attèle |
| Ssewernaja Kossa (langue de terre qui abrite) | s'hibernaja costa | côte à hiverner |
| Kukuoba (éruption de 1794) | coü coba | caverne qui cuit |
| Jushnaja Kossa (langue étroite sur le Bosphore cimm$^{en}$. | just, n'a, y, a, costa | juste il y en a, côte |
| Arabatss Kaja Kossa (langue étroite entre mer et qui porte la route depuis Arabat à Jenitschi Tonka) | arabats, casa, costa | côte de la maison de défense avancée |
| Tschuruktupp (île inhabitée ou banc de sable) | chourroup tape | arrête les infiltrations |
| Tschongarr (id.) | joncar | amas de joncs |
| Kossadsharillagatsch (id.) | costa sarrillagas | côte de sable fin mauvais |
| Karabaï (îlot inhabité) | cara baï | visage bas |
| Chorali (presqu'île inhabitée) | sorrali | amas de sable |
| Tscharikk (id.) | charriq | infiltration |

| *Orthographe allemande.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Kutt Metschesly adassy (côte avancée déserte) | costa me geli d'assy | côte je gèle d'ici |
| Kutt Tschantulann (id.) | costa gentulans | côte où l'on aborde beaucoup |
| Ssaribulat (pointe id.) | sarrill volat | sable fin qui vole |
| Belbek ou Kabarta (baie) | bela beg ou cubertà | voile j'aperçois ou mettre à la cape |
| Sstrelezkaja (id.) | strelles casa | maison des étoiles |
| Pesstschanaja (id.) | peschunaja | poissonner |
| Kamyschewaja (id.) | camis se vaya | se mettre en route |
| Kosatschkaja (id.) | cossats casa | maison des coups de pied (cosaques) |
| Kurtyriburunn (côte) | kurq tiri bouroûn | caverne d'éruptions volcaniques |
| Koktebel (baie) | couc te bel | amène la voile |
| Tekich (id.) | te qui | te voilà arrivé |
| Dshemetri (presqu'île et baie) | | |
| Kuban (baie) | coban | creusent |
| Kysyltasch (détroit) | quissiltas | lieu d'excitation |

*Mer-Noire. Rivières. (Andriveau Goujon.)*

| *Orthographe française.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Soianilo (cours d'eau) | | |
| Koutchourgan (id.) | coste sourregam | approche des sables |
| Dniester (fleuve) | | |
| Alkalia (cours d'eau) | alt alla | haut dehors |
| Kaplani (id.) | qu'aplani | combien je nivelle |
| Khadjider (id.) | catxi d'era | je prends du sol |
| Saratto (id.) | sorrado | ensablé |
| Tchilighider (id.) | xelligueder | épouvantail |

| *Orthographe française.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Tchaghe (cours d'eau) | chegue | aveugle |
| Drakoulia (id.) | trascola | transvase |

*Danube et Environs.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Danub (fleuve) | | da nubi | donne mari |
| Kilia (bouche) | | quilla | dresse |
| Soulina (id.) | | salina | salin |
| Salmanor | (5 îlots) | saill ma nove | limon à main nouvelle |
| Otnojika | | ost nou jika | chasse l'hôte nouveau |
| Ermakova | | herma cova | caverne déserte |
| Malzinov | | matzinou | empoisonné |
| Tchernii | | serre niu | nid a scie |
| Matitsa | (3 lacs au sud) | matissa | terrain couvert d'arbustes |
| Radakoul | | rat da coul | rat sur son derrière |
| Lounino | | lou nino | le petit enfant |

*Noms propres de Gaulois ou Germains mentionnés dans les Commentaires de César, avec leur signification approximative en Roman et traduction française en regard.*

| *Latin.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Ambigat | ambigat | poutres à leur place |
| Ariovist | a riou bist | vu à la rivière |
| Ambiorix | an biou ric | qui vit en riche |
| Acco | aco | cela |
| Emporedorix | emparedo ric | empereur riche |
| Critognatus | grito nats | j'appelle les enfants |
| Antebrogius | an te brougues | qui possède des broussailles |
| Ægus | cœügues | juments |
| Roscillus | rosill | diminutif de rose |
| Adcantannus | at cant'anȳs | te chante les années |
| Bellovesus | bello besec | tu baises la toison |

| *Latin.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Beduognatus | be dou nats | porte bien les enfants |
| Caburus | cabrous | chevreaux |
| Cassivellaunus | caci bellanas | je cherche des noisettes |
| Camulogenus | ca moü lo gens | chien qui chasse le public |
| Carvillius | garbills | graviers |
| Casticus | castics | châtiments |
| Catamanteles | cata mantels | abaisse les manteaux |
| Cativulcus | cat y boulques | chat tu y tombes |
| Cabarillus | cabreilles | constellation des Pléiades |
| Cavarinus | caba rims | travaille les raisins |
| Cimberius | sim beu rius | le sommet domine les rivières |
| Cingetorix | sin jeto ric | riche sans un seul jeton |
| Comius | camis | chemins |
| Conetodunus | contedouns | comptoirs |
| Cotuatus | cotats | courbés |
| Convictolitanis | convido les daynes | j'invite les biches |
| Corbeus | cort beus | le bruit court |
| Cotus | costous | coûteux |
| Divicus | diu bisques | vive Dieu ! |
| Divitiacus | dibissats | divisés |
| Drapes | drapes | drapiers |
| Dumnacus | dounats | donnés |
| Dumnorix | douno ric | donne en riche |
| Duracius | dourases | très-dures |
| Epasnactus | a pas nats | nés au pas |
| Galba | gale ba | voici les réjouissances |
| Gobanitio | coba neteje | nettoie la caverne |
| Guturnatus | gots tournats | Goths revenus |
| Iccius | ixius | sortez |
| Immanuentius | amanuense | exécuteur testamentaire |
| Induciomarus | inducïx maras | conseille les mères |
| Liscus | llisques | tu glisses |

| *Latin.* | *Roman.* | *Français.* |
|---|---|---|
| Litavicus | llitat bisques | que tu vives alité ! (Ludovic) |
| Mandubratus | mandou baratas | je dirige les échanges |
| Moritasgus | mori tasques | impôts sur les morts |
| Nasua | na sua | il transpire |
| Numerus | noumers | nombres |
| Ollovico | oulla visque | vive la marmite ! |
| Piso | pixo | voies urinaires |
| Segonax | sehonats | assaisonnés |
| Sedulius | se dolies | qu'il se plaignit |
| Sigovesus | cega bessas | tu répands le blé sous ta faucille |
| Surus | sourous | chênes à liége |
| Tasgetius | d'asquetius | d'émondages |
| Taximagulus | taxi mas goulous | je taxe mes bouches à nourrir |
| Teutomatus | tout o matas | tu brises tout |
| Vercingetorix | ber sin jeto ric | vrai riche sans un jeton |
| Verodoctius | bero docto | vrai savant (Hérodote?) |
| Vedeliacus | bedellats | veaux nés |
| Vergasillaunus | bergas a llans | bâtons à lancer |
| Vertiscus | berdissous | buissons verts |
| Viridovix | biri dou bici | je quitte le vice |
| Viridomarus | biri dou mars | je quitte les mers |
| Vocio | baüsia | félonie |

## XIX.—ON ANCIENT RUINS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MISSOLONGHI.

BY D. B. COLNAGHI, ESQ., H.M. CONSUL, BASTIA.

(Letter addressed to C. T. Newton, Esq., M.R.S.L., and Keeper of the Classical Antiquities, British Museum.)

(Read April 14th, 1863.)

*Corsica, March*, 1863.

My dear Mr. Newton,

I had hoped, before leaving Greece, to make a complete survey of the plain of Missolonghi, but I have been compelled to leave my work unfinished, and have only gathered, in addition to the details of New Pleuron[1] forwarded in 1861, the few notes which I now send you. They were taken, at different times, in 1860 and 1861.

I make Missolonghi, as a central point, my starting-post.

### *Remains near Chilia Spitia.*

On the side of a low double-crested hill, a spur of Mount Aracynthus (Zygos), but separated from the main range by a narrow tract of plain-land, are traces of a roughly-built wall with towers. On the top of the higher crest of the hill are the foundations of a building about eleven paces by nine, composed of

[1] Proceedings of Royal Society of Literature, vol. vii. new series.

squared blocks. Other foundations may be observed on the lower summit. The walls in their circuit round the hill can barely be traced; they are more distinct on the west than on the east side, and appear to have been of the rudest construction.

The part of the plain below the hill is called Chilia Spitia (*Χίλια Σπίτια*), from the remains of houses scattered over it. A village existed here, I believe, before Missolonghi was inhabited.

In the neighbourhood of Chilia Spitia, at a spot called Djaffer Pasha, guided by a Greek friend, I dug for tombs, but unsuccessfully. The place of search was the garden of a small farm, where tombs constructed of slabs of country stone, roughly squared, had been found some little time ago. The tombs contained one or two small vases, but these had been lost or broken.

Rather nearer Missolonghi, not far from the chapel of Agios Jani, are the remains of a Byzantine building, constructed of large and small bricks, probably a church. I noticed here fragments of a large earthenware crock, similar to those found by Mr. F. Calvert on the plains of Troy.[1] Byzantine copper coins are found occasionally in the plain.

### *Ruins at Kurtaga (Calydon).*

One hour and thirty-five minutes to the east of Missolonghi, but west of the Evenus, are the ruins of Kurtaga, which are considered by Colonel Leake, with every appearance of probability, to mark the site of the once famous city of Calydon.

[1] 'Archæological Journal,' vol. xvi. p. 1.

*Situation.*—The city was built in a valley, formed by the last slopes of Mount Aracynthus, round the summits of which the walls extend,[2] passing, on the north-east side, towards the plain of the Evenus, which river, a little above this point, debouches from the mountains on to the plain in its rapid course to the sea. On the south the ruins stretch, by a long wall terminating in a mass of foundation, to the plain of Missolonghi.

The Acropolis surmounts the height which rises above the city. It appears to have been strongly fortified, and traces of a square citadel or keep, flanked by towers, are visible in the centre. The south-west end, its highest point, is a mass of rubbish; and the wall, which, I think, extended along the inner front, can barely be traced. The view from the top is fine, embracing towards the south Mount Varasova (Chalas), which bounds the rich plain of Buchoro-Galata[3] with its thick marshy covers, where wild boars are still found, and through which the Evenus winds on its way to the Gulf of Patras. Across the blue sea, rise the mountains of Peloponnesus. Towards the north-east lie the bold mountains of Ætolia, whence the river issues on to the plain.

*Extent.*—The whole circuit of the walls is considered by Colonel Leake to be two miles and a half, but I do not make it more than a mile and three-quarters. The

[2] The rough sketch of the walls which accompanies these notes, is submitted for inspection with some hesitation; but though unfinished, it is, I hope, sufficiently correct to give an idea of the general plan of the city; it will, at all events, assist the description.

[3] So the east extremity of the plain of Missolonghi is termed, from the two villages of Buchóri and Galatà.

city however probably extended outside the walls towards towards the plain on the east side. It is rather more than five miles from Kurtaga to the sea, at the base of Mount Varasova.

On approaching the ruins from Missolonghi, the first object noticed is the mass of foundation (G, Pl. I. and Pl. II.), built at the end of a narrow spur of the mountain, at the entrance to the valley. This consists of a frontage wall of Cyclopean construction facing the north-west, built of large blocks, roughly hewn on the outside, but carefully fitted together, with lead, I think, in some places. The present height of this basement is twenty-six feet four inches. On it, perhaps, stood the temple of Artemis Laphria (Colonel Leake's suggestion). On the top is a pavement of square slabs. The remains of walls, portions of the basement, are visible round the head of the spur.

From this point are traces of walls, proceeding north-east along the spur towards the city, as far as the ruined chapel of Agios Jani, one end of which rests on ancient foundations. Seventy-four paces north-east of this chapel, the city walls begin, and pass north-west along the bank of a small rivulet.

*Walls.*—The walls, though much ruined, are traceable throughout nearly their whole circuit. They are built of squared limestone blocks of various sizes, and are in general, more especially those of Acropolis, constructed with care, though not of high antiquity. Their average breadth is about eight feet. Every accident of ground is taken advantage of for defence: where there are no towers, salient angles protect the intervening walls, so that from no point, in an attack, would the assailants have escaped a flank fire of arrows.

*Towers.*—Traces of about twenty-two towers may still be observed. Their frontage varies from twenty to twenty-seven feet; their projection from eleven to sixteen feet. The corner blocks of some of the towers are cushioned.

*Gates.*—There were two principal gates; one on the south (A, Pl. I. and Pl. III.) and the other on the north-east side of the city (C, Pl. I.). The modern path, used by the peasants who bring wood to Missolonghi, still passes through both. There are three smaller gates still visible (B, D, E, Pl. I.). The entrance to the Acropolis is quite destroyed.

*Buildings.*—Foundations of buildings, constructed of squared blocks, may be traced in various parts of the Polis, and beyond the walls on the lower slopes of the hill leading down to the plain of the Evenus. Outside, but adjoining, north-east wall (F, Pl. I.) are the foundations of a circular building (tower?) about eight feet in diameter.

*Tombs.*—In and near the city I noticed several tombs, all constructed of roughly-hewn slabs. The two tombs near the chapel of Agios Jani (Z, Pl. I.) still contained some bones having been recently broken open. The tomb near north-east gate (3, Pl. I.) had also been opened but a few days before my visit. My guide found, near it, a small fragment of gold filigree ornament; the rest had disappeared.

*Inscription.*—Of statues or sculptured ornaments I could find no trace, and I only noticed one inscription, on a slab of white stone, lying in front of the chapel of Agios Jani.

The reading I give of this inscription is from a copy taken after a careful re-examination of the stone, on

comparing notes with Mr. H. Bazin, a member of the French School of Athens, and a gentleman of considerable ability, who travelled over the whole of Ætolia in 1860–61, with the view of establishing, as far as might be, the sites of undetermined cities.

Υ[4]
ΚΑΛΔΩΝΙΩΝΔΑΜΑΡΧΟΝ
.[5]ΝΟΣΚΑΛΥΔΩΝΙΟΝΤΟΝ
· · ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝ

From the appearance of the stone, I think this is the continuation of a larger inscription. On the lower part of the slab (a blank space intervening) are five more lines in a smaller character, but so defaced as to be quite illegible.

*Mount Varasova (Chalcis).*

Crossing the Evenus (modern Fidharis), I explored the west side of Mount Varasova, in the hope of finding some ancient ruins, promised by the peasants, at a point called "Castro tou Mavromatiou Scala." After a toilsome ascent, more than halfway up the mountain, we arrived at a small mediæval or Turkish fortress, placed on a perpendicular limestone cliff, and commanding a magnificent view of the surrounding country; of Hellenic remains there were no traces, though the way had been beguiled by our Vlach guide with stories of the terrible fights which, in old times, took place between the inhabitants of Kurtaga and the dwellers on the lofty rock we were about to visit.

[4] Small Υ very doubtful. It would seem that the workman having forgotten the letter had inserted it above.

[5] Mr. Bazin reads ΜΟΣ and supplies (δὰ) μος.

He was learned in their mode of warfare, and entered into interesting details of the manner of operations which the opposing parties carried out. His theories, however, were not confirmed by our inspection of the ruins.

From the village of Galata to the Crio Neri at the base of Varasova, where that lofty cliff descends to the sea, is about three miles and a half. The path skirts the mountain-side, along which, thirty-five minutes from the village, are lines of low shallow caves. I noticed on the way one or two Hellenic tombs, similar to those found at Calydon. I was told that vases had been found in them; of course they had been broken or lost. From under the mountain, close to the sea, at Crio Neri, flows a little brackish rivulet, about two fathoms deep in the centre; from the ground on either side, well two springs of fresh and very cold water. Round the point of the mountain, some mineral springs bubble up from the beach, close to the sea. They are cold and salt, and are said to contain muriatic and sulphuric kali, natrium and magnesia. There are the remains of walls, and fragments of tiles scattered about. These appear to be mediæval or modern. At Crio Neri[6] magazines were formed by Ibrahim Pasha, during the second siege of Missolonghi in 1825, and stores for the Turkish army were brought hither from Patras.

May not Crio Neri be a suitable position for the port in Calydon, mentioned by Pausanias in connection with the story of Coresus, the priest of Bacchus, and the cruel virgin Callirhoe? I should like to fancy that the springs noted above are those mentioned in the story (Paus. lib. vii. 21).

[6] See Finlay's History of Greek Revolution, book iv. chap. 2.

The sea at this spot has encroached on the land, and I have been told of the remains of walls, visible under water, but, having no boat, could not search for them.

Though beyond the limits of the plain of Missolonghi, yet, as connected with Mount Varasova, I may here notice some ruins visited by Mr. Bazin, and situate in a defile on the east side of the mountain, three-quarters of an hour from the village of Vassiliki. Mr. Bazin describes the town as enclosed on the right and left by perpendicular rocks, and on the north and south by curious walls. He considers these ruins to mark the site of Chalcis.

### *Western Division of the Plain of Missolonghi.*

I have but few notes to give of this portion of the plain. In a vineyard, about three-quarters of a mile north-west of the town, I saw an Hellenic tomb, in which two or three small vases had been found.

The ruins at Gyfto Castro (? Old Pleuron, according to Colonel Leake) and of New Pleuron, on a higher spur of Zygos, I have already described in a former letter. I believe, however, that a further survey of the interesting ruins of New Pleuron might be rewarded with fresh discoveries. In the marsh, in the plain beneath these ruins, are said to be the remains of walls, resembling quays, and iron rings, as if belonging to a port, according to my informant, but I was not able to verify the fact.

About the centre of Kaki Scala, a rugged path which crosses the mountain-spur at the head of the marsh, are the ruins of a small Hellenic tower composed of large squared blocks, an outwork, probably, of New Pleuron.

A little further on, at a spot called "Treis Ekklesias," are some Hellenic remains, seen by Mr. Bazin, but which had escaped my notice. In this part of the plain, and along the west banks of the Lake of Aitolico are scattered remains of houses, extending over some distance, probably Byzantine or mediæval.

About four miles and a half north-west of Aitolico, on a lower conical hill, called Episcopi, which rises from the plain not far from the Achelous, is a ruined Byzantine church, built entirely of bricks. The church is sixty feet in length and thirty-three feet in breadth, including two long aisles on either side, which are entered by separate doors, but connected by openings in the interior with the body of the church. Some squared blocks, apparently ancient, are scattered on the hill-top outside the church.

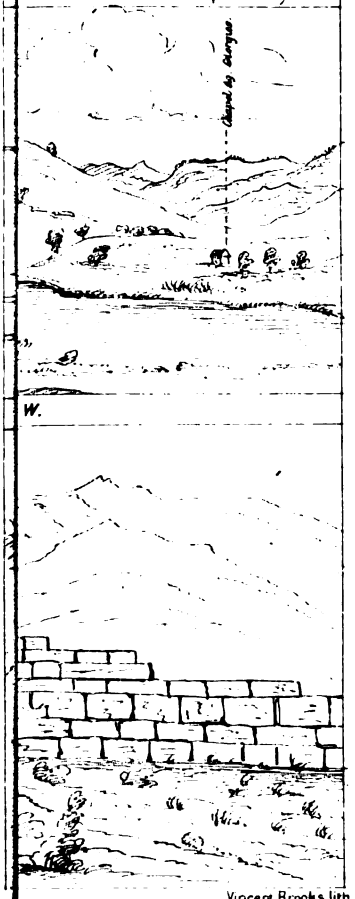
I have added to these notes a few sketches of Calydon (1, 2, 3) and an outline tracing, from the French map of Greece, of the plain of Missolonghi. The coast-line has altered greatly since ancient times; the three lakes spoken of by Strabo now form one long lagoon, extending from Cape Skrophes to the plain of the Evenus, a distance of about nineteen miles. The Lake of Calydon, famous for its fish, may have been at the east extremity of the lagoon, and extended nearer to the river than it now does. Patras is still supplied with fish from this coast.[7]

Believe me, yours very truly,

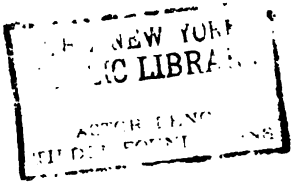
D. E. COLNAGHI.

[7] Whenever I have mentioned Colonel Leake's Researches, I have taken my notice of them from different articles in Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography,' as I have no copy by me of Colonel Leake's 'Travels in Northern Greece.'

WALL OF BASEMENT. ( C. PL. I.)




Vincent Brooks lith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## XX.—THE ANNALS OF ESARHADDON, TRANSLATED FROM THE ASSYRIAN.

BY H. F. TALBOT, V.P.R.S.L.

(Read March 11th, 1863.)

THIS interesting inscription is found on a cylinder in the British Museum. Another copy likewise exists in that collection, but it is much broken. The original text is lithographed in pl. 45 of the recently published volume of inscriptions.

### THE ANNALS OF ESARHADDON.

*Column I.*

Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, lord of Sumiri and Akkadi; son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria; son of Sargon, king of Assyria. The king who, in the name of Ashur, the moon, the sun, Nebo, Marduk, Ishtar of Nineveh, and Ishtar of Arbela, the great gods his lords, from the rising sun unto the setting sun, made conquests beyond number.

### THE CONQUEST OF SIDON.

Conqueror of the city of Sidon, which is in the sea; sweeper away of all its villages; its citadel and its palace I destroyed, and I flung them into the sea. And

the place where the ruins had been, I made smooth and level.

Abd-ishkutti, its king, who away from my arms into the midst of the sea had fled: like a fish from the midst of the sea I caught him up, and I bound his hands with fetters. His hoarded wealth of gold, silver, precious stones, (. . . .) of elephants, teeth of elephants, *dan* wood, *ku* wood; dyed wool, red and yellow, very precious; and all the chief treasures of his palace, abundantly I carried off. His men and women beyond number, with his oxen, sheep, and mules, I bore away to Assyria.

I passed in review the kings of Syria, and those of the seacoast, all of them.

I built the city again, and named it the city of Esarhaddon.

Men skilled in archery, belonging to me, natives of the land and sea of the rising sun, therein I placed to dwell. My officers, men of distinction, I placed in authority over them.

Moreover, Sanduarri, king of the city Askundir-sitzu, an enemy and heretic who paid no reverence to my majesty, and whom the gods had abandoned; he trusted to his fortified stronghold, and Abd-ishkutti, king of Sidon, he took for his ally.

The names of the great gods he carved upon his idols, and to their oracles he trusted. But I trusted unto Ashur, my lord. Like an antelope from the midst of the mountains I caught him up, and I bound his hands with fetters. Then I marked upon him the emblem of Ashur, my lord. And soon after, the heads of Sanduarri and Abdimilkutti, with the heads of their principal chiefs, I struck off; and along with

the slaves, old men, children, and women, to the palace of Nineveh I sent them.

*Column II.*

[The commencement is broken. In the part which is lost, the king seems to have said that he cut off the heads of some rebels. He continues thus :—]

I collected them [viz. the heads], and unto Assyria I sent them off. And opposite the great eastern gate of the city of Nineveh, along with the heap of corpses there already, I left them to remain for ever.

Then Teispes, king of the Sacæ, a rebellious warrior, whose land was far distant, in the province of Khubsan, with all his army I destroyed with my weapons.

Trampler upon the infamous tribes of the robber country, a race of outlaws inhabiting the forests which are in front of the fertile (or civilized) country : who trusted to their mountains, and from ancient times had never bowed down to the yoke. Twenty-one of their strong cities, with the smaller towns adjoining to them, I attacked and took them, and carried off their spoils. Then I ruined and destroyed them, and burnt them with fire. The best of those people, who crimes and murders had not committed, I only compelled to receive my yoke.

Conqueror of the land of Barnaki, who are enemies and heretics, dwelling in Til-Ashur, which in their own tongue they call the cities Mikran and Pitan.

Disperser of the inhabitants of the land of Manna, who did not keep their treaty; and the king (*am I*) who destroyed with his weapons the army of Ispakiah,

king of Ashguza, a crowd of soldiers who failed to save themselves.

Conqueror of Nabo-zir-gisidi, son of Marduk-Baladan, who trusted to the king of Susiana, but did not thereby save his life.

Then Nahit-Marduk, his brother, made haste to do homage to me. From the land of the Susians he made his escape. Unto Nineveh the city of my royalty he came, and kissed my yoke. The entire district on the seacoast, which was the inheritance of his brother, I gave to him.

Destroyer of the city of Beth-Dakkurri, which is in Chaldæa, and is the enemy of Babylon. Conqueror of Shems-ebni, its king, an old man, vile and hateful, who would not worship the lord of lords [viz. *Marduk*], and who had seduced into heresy many of the common people, subjects of the princes of Babylon and Borsippa. The true worship of Bel and Nebo among those people I re-established, and I gave them back to the princes of Babylon and Borsippa. Nebo-shallim, son of Balatzu, I placed upon the throne, and he did homage to me.

The city of Edom, the strongest city of the land of the Arabians, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, my father, had conquered .... [The rest of this paragraph is broken off.]

*Column III.*

[The first three lines of the column are destroyed.]

THE SUPPLIANT KING.

.... .. with his abundant presents, unto Nineveh my royal city he came, and kissed my yoke. Then

holding forth to me his gods, he made supplications to me. I took pity on him. I repaired the injuries on those images of his gods. The emblem of Ashur, my lord, and the writing of my own name, I caused to be written on them, and I gave them back to him again.

A young woman, brought up in my palace, I appointed to be queen over them. With her gods, unto her country I restored her.

A tribute of 65 camels, beyond what he paid to my late father, I imposed upon him.

After Hazael had resigned his crown, I placed upon the throne Yahilu his son.

Ten *minæ* of gold, 1000 precious stones, 50 camels, and 1000 (. . . . . .), increased beyond the tribute which his father paid, I imposed upon him.

## THE CONQUEST OF THE MARSH COUNTRY OF LOWER CHALDÆA.

The marsh country, whose situation is remote, a great district of overflowed land, cursed with famine: at first 140 leagues of marsh land, uninhabited, and utterly worthless; then twenty leagues of a high and well-watered country; then again twenty leagues of broken country,—a region of rocks,—barren in the extreme, behind me I left; and I then marched into a region which in former times no king, of all my ancestors, had ever penetrated. By the command of Ashur, my lord, into the midst of it proudly I advanced. Eight kings of the interior of that country I slew. Their gods, their treasures, and their people, I carried away captive into Assyria.

Layali, king of the city Yadihu, who had fled from before my arms, hearing of the capture of his gods, unto Nineveh, my royal city, unto my majesty he came, and kissed my yoke. I took pity on him. I commanded that he should be honoured. As for his gods which I had captured, I inscribed on them the emblem of Ashur, my lord, and I gave them to him once more. Those provinces of the marsh country I entrusted to his jurisdiction. A settled tribute to my majesty I imposed upon him.

Belbasha, son of Bunani, king of the Gambuli tribe, (who in an island twelve leagues from the land, amidst the waters and the waves, like fishes have placed their humid dwellings,) was struck with terror on hearing the commands of Ashur, my lord, and brought tribute and offerings to my majesty.

*Column IV.*

[The commencement is broken off. It seems to have mentioned a war against some chief on the borders of Elamti or Susiana; a neighbour therefore of the Gambuli tribe last mentioned.]

. . . . . and he kissed my yoke. I took pity on him. I gave him a golden necklace. I strengthened the fortifications of Shapi-Bel, his strong city.

Himself and his archers I left within the city, and like a palm-tree of the land of Elamti I caused him to flourish.

In the district of Patusarra which borders upon (. . . . . ), which is in the further part of Media, in the province of Bikni, the country of the precious *samat* stone; (which among the kings my fathers, none ever

trod the soil of that country,) Sireparna and Eparna, chiefs of fortified cities who had not bowed down to my yoke, themselves and their people, and their horses trained to draw chariots, their oxen, sheep, mules, and dromedaries, with much spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

Uppits, chief of the city Partakka:

Zanasan, chief of the city Parratka:

Ramatiya, chief of the city Uraka-zabarna:

Median cities, whose situation is remote, who in the times of the kings my fathers never traversed the land of Assyria, nor ever trod upon its soil: (for now the dreadful terror of Ashur my lord had struck them,) brought noble stallions, and precious *zamat* stones, the pride of their country, unto Nineveh my royal city, and kissed my yoke.

Then the chiefs of certain revolted cities assembled themselves together, and supplicated my majesty, and cried to me most earnestly. My officers, men of distinction belonging to those cities, I commissioned to go along with them. They thoroughly subdued the inhabitants of those cities, and compelled them to bow down to their yoke.

A fixed tribute to my majesty, measured equally, I imposed upon them.

## THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF ESARHADDON AFTER HIS WARS WERE FINISHED.

After that Ashur, the sun, Bel, and Nebo, Ishtar of Nineveh, and Ishtar of Arbela, over my enemies by victories had established firmly my power, I fulfilled my heart's desire.

Out of the spoils of foreign kingdoms, which by the help of the great gods my lords my hands had seized,

ten large temples in Assyria, and in Mesopotamia I erected; with silver and gold I adorned them, and I made them as brilliant as the sun.

In those days, the royal palace in the middle of Nineveh, which the kings my fathers who went before me erected for the accommodation of troops, and for the care (or safe keeping) of stallions and mares, and cars (or waggons), able to carry implements of war; and for the safe custody of foreign spoils, and all manner of precious objects, which Ashur, king of the gods, had given abundantly to my royal arms . . . . . .

[Here part of the cylinder is broken off, which probably mentioned that this palace was gone to decay, and that the king had resolved to rebuild it.]

*Column V.*

A multitude of captives I compelled to make bricks. That old palace, I pulled down the whole of it. A vast quantity of earth in baskets I removed from its former place, and heaped it up [*i. e. upon the site of the old palace*]. And then with stones of ample size I finished the work of its mound.

I assembled twenty-two kings of the Syrian nations: those of the seacoast, and those of the islands, all of them; and I passed them in review.

Precious woods in large beams: fine-grown *timi* trees, ebony-wood, cedar-wood, and *shurnish* wood, from Sirar and Lebanon:

Also pictures of the great gods, and sculptures to be fixed up against walls: statues of the gods carved in stone; slabs of granite and alabaster; two kinds of *kumina* stone, *belgishak* stone; *alishda* stone; and va-

rious other kinds of stone from the forests (*or deserts*) of the lands of their birth, for the adornment of my palace, with danger and difficulty, unto Nineveh they brought along with them.

In the month Shaga, on the day named *belgari*, upon that mound I began to build a magnificent palace for the residence of my majesty.

A great building of 95 measures in length, and 31 measures in breadth, such as among the kings my fathers who went before me none had ever made, I constructed.

With beams of lofty cedar-trees I constructed its roof; and to planks made of *shurnish* wood, a tree whose wood is excellent, I fastened ornaments of silver and bronze, and I affixed them to the gates.

Divine bulls carved in stone, whose fronts alone were visible, I placed close beside the gates.

Guardians of the treasure, preservers of the revenue, of the king who constructed them, every one of them I located in their place.

This palace of stone and cedar-wood of immense size, for the residence of my majesty splendidly I finished.

Sculptures of the great gods made of bronze painted [*or varnished*] on both sides, and before and behind, in the closed apartments of its interior, I constructed.

## *Column VI.*

*Cornices* (?) of fine cedar-wood and ebony-wood, on the top of the gates I made.

The whole of that palace with lofty *nibikh* of *ka* stone and *zamat* stone I finished, and I completed its

*kili* [*inner apartments?*]. With flat roofs like (. . . . .) I covered all the apartments, and with ornaments of pure silver and shining copper I adorned its interior.

The glory of Ashur, my lord, which he had displayed among the foreign nations, I entrusted to the care of skilful carvers within it.[1] With noble *shar* trees, the growth of the land of Khamana [Mount Hermon] which all carpenters and joiners prefer to employ, I built its *ita* [*inner walls?*]. I improved its *kishalla*. I greatly augmented its resources, for the stabling of horses within it. And I dug wells and filled them abundantly with water.

This palace from its foundation to its summit I built and I completed.

I made a hall of assembly in it for the great meeting of my council. And the name which I gave to it was *Haikal pakidat kala mu*, "the palace of protection of every useful work."[2]

Ashur and the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh, and the gods of Assyria, all of them, in its chapels I worshipped. Victims of most perfect beauty I sacrificed to their divinities. I collected together much wealth, and I did for those gods whatever they desired.

## THE ASSYRIAN PARLIAMENT.

I assembled together the first men of the kingdom,

[1] These sculptures of course represented the king's own actions and victories, but they were conventionally attributed to Ashur, by "the terror of whose name" the foreign enemies are always said to be "confounded" or "overwhelmed."

[2] Or, "the palace of every kind of fostering care." Other inscriptions also insist particularly on this point, viz. the great number of useful purposes for which this palace was employed. It was a kind of great central government establishment.

the chiefs and the people of my land, all of them. And I caused them to be seated within the palace, to aid me with their help, and their foresight, and their well-weighed counsels.

By the will of Ashur, king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria, all of them, may they always in future assemble there, with good intentions, intelligent minds, much honour, and abundant profit! And so may the glory of this palace be full!

Suited for every kind of useful work, may a noble race of horses, mares, beasts of labour (*mules?*), and camels, capable of carrying at once the warlike stores of a whole army, and likewise may the precious spoils taken from the enemy,—may these in an equal degree, and that by no means a small one, be carefully tended and guarded within it!

Within this palace may the sacred bull,[3] the guardian of my royal wealth, and the great giver to me of happiness, for ever continue to shine!

In future days, under the kings my sons, whom Ashur and Ishtar shall call to rule over this land and people, when this palace shall grow old and decay, may some one repair its injuries! And as I have placed the tablets written with the name of the king my father along with the tablets written with my own name, so do thou[4] also (as I have done) read aloud the tablets written with my name; then build an altar, sacrifice a victim, and fix them up along with the tablets written with thine own name. So shall Ashur and Ishtar hear thy prayers!

---

[3] Viz. *carved in stone.*

[4] The king here addresses his successor.

Having given this translation of the whole inscription, I now proceed to analyse the text, placing the Assyrian and English in opposite columns, and adding the necessary annotations.

## *Column I.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . . u Akkadim, | [Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, lord of Sumiri] and Akkadi, |
| 2. . . . . sar Ashur, | [son of Sennacherib] king of Assyria, |
| 3. . . . . sar Ashur, | [son of Sargon] king of Assyria, |
| 4. . . . . Sin, Shemesh, | [the king who in the name of Ashur] the moon, the sun, |
| 5. Nabiu, Marduk, Ishtar sha Ninua, | Nebo, Marduk, Ishtar of Nineveh, |
| 6. Ishtar sha Arbil, ili rabi bieli-su, | and Ishtar of Arbela, the great gods his lords, |
| 7. valtu tsit shemesh adi ereb shemesh, | from the rising sun unto the setting sun, |
| 8. ittallaku makhira la yeshu. | made conquests beyond number. |

### *Observations.*

Of the first four lines, the greater portion has been destroyed.

*Ittallaku* is the t conjugation of *allak*, to attack. Heb. הלך.

*Makhira la yeshu* is a very common phrase, but not yet satisfactorily explained. *Makhira* may mean a register, record, or history; Heb. מקרא, liber, lectio; or it may mean "victories;" Heb. מכרה, gladius, arma.

*La yeshu* may be "that which cannot be counted," from נשא, *nasha*, summam numeravit; or, "that which is not preserved in memory," from ישע, servavit.

| | |
|---|---|
| 9. Kashid ir Tsidunni sha as kabal parti; | Conqueror of the city of Sidon, which is in the sea; |
| 10. sapin gimir darumi-su; | sweeper away of all its villages; |
| 11. til-su u subat-zu asshursu, | its citadel and its palace I destroyed, |
| 12. kireb parti addiu: | and I flung them into the sea: |
| 13. ashar masdaki-su wekhallik. | and the place where their ruins had been, I made smooth and level. |

I have written *kashid*, on account of the probable etymological connection with *kashat*, victory; *kishitti*, spoils of battle; *ekshut*, I conquered, etc. Otherwise the word might as well be read *kamish*.

Sidon is loosely said to be "in the sea," instead of "on the seacoast."

The word meaning "the sea" may have been pronounced *parti*, because the Arabic has *bahr*, the sea, from which *parti* is not very distant. On the other hand, it may have been pronounced *yobba*, as it is very often written.

*Asshurshu* denotes the most complete destruction of a building; from שרש, *sheresh* or *shersh*, eradicavit, extirpavit (Schindler, 1951; Gesenius, 1040).

*Addiu*. The final *u* is a sign of the first person, but when a short vowel precedes, as here, the last letter had probably somewhat the sound of *m*.

*Addi*, I threw, *jeci;* from Heb. ידה, jecit. The third plural, *iddu*, jecerunt, frequently occurs; *ex. gr. iddu-su*, they cast upon him [viz. heavy chains of iron].

*Masdak* is similarly used for "the ruins of a palace" in the Constantinople inscription, l. 61. It is from סדק, *sadak*, Chald. and Syr., to break in pieces.

*Wekhallik*, I made smooth; from Heb. חלק, *khalak*, lævis, glaber; and as a verb, spoliavit, denudavit.

| | |
|---|---|
| 14. Abd-ishkutti sar-su, | Abdishkutti, its king, |
| 15. sha lapan eshkuti-ya | who away from my arms |
| 16. as kabal parti innabtu, | into the midst of the sea had fled, |
| 17. kima nuni valtu kireb parti | like a fish from the midst of the sea |
| 18. amassu, akkireb kat-zu. | I caught him up, and I bound his hands with fetters. |

Abd-ishkutti probably means "servant of the laws," or "servant of religion." He is indifferently called by this name and by that of Abdi-milkutti, "servant of the kingdom." There is, however, some doubt of authenticity of these names. The same cuneiform sign represents *kut* and *tar*. It is possible that the Assyrian scribe may not have possessed much knowledge of Phœnician affairs, and may have selected wrongly *kut* instead of *tar*. Then by writing *ku ut* for *kut*, he put it out of the power of his reader to correct him. If the sign were really *tar*, the name would be Abd-istarti, or "servant of Astarte." We know from the testimony of Menander that there was an ancient king of Tyre, called Abdistarte. Similarly, I think that Abdi-milkutti may be a corruption of "servant of Melkart," or Melicerta. He was the Tyrian Hercules.

*Amassu*, from Chald. חמס, *hamas*, rapuit, abripuit, abstulit, transtulit (Schindler, 600).

*Akkireb* is probably the Arabic verb כרב, *carab*, compressit, anxit (Schindl. 894), implying that the hands were squeezed together painfully.

| | |
|---|---|
| 19. Nakmu shaga-su, khurassi, kaspa, abnam agarut, | His hoarded wealth of gold, silver, precious stones, |
| 20. tzu amsi, ka amsi, its dan, its ku, | . . . . . of elephants, teeth of elephants, *dan* wood, *ku* wood, |
| 21. ku thibbulti it u kurkum sutaksu, | dyed wool, (*red?*) and yellow, very precious, |
| 22. nitsirti haikal-su | all the chief treasures of his palace |
| 23. ana mahadi ashlula. | abundantly I plundered. |
| 24. Nisi-su, nishati, sha niba la isha, | His men and women, beyond number, |
| 25. ga u tsieni . . . . . | with his oxen, sheep, and mules, |
| 26. abuka ana kireb Ashur. | I carried off to Assyria. |

*Nakmu*, a hoard; from *nakim*, to keep safe, preserve, or hoard, which again is from the Chald. קים, *kim*, manens, durans. Hence *beth-nakammati*, a house of hoarded wealth, *i. e.* a treasury.

*Agarut*, precious stones, is perhaps a particular form of the Arabic חגר, *hagar*, lapis; plur. *higara*.

*Tzu* is of uncertain meaning. "Skins" would be hardly of sufficient value to be mentioned. Perhaps it means "bone," and is a shortened form of *atzu*, Heb. עצם, a bone.

*Amsi*, elephants, I would derive from Heb. *ametz*, אמץ, robustus, fortis.

*Thibbulti*, dyed; from טבל, *thibul*, tinxit, immersit, as first explained, I believe, by Dr. Hincks.

*Ku*, fleece or wool, may be compared with the Greek κω, root of κῶας, κῶς, a fleece.

*Nitsirti*, the regalia or chief treasury of the king's palace; from Heb. נזר, *nezer* or *netser*, diadema regis.

*Niba*, number. The phrases, *sha niba la isha*, and *la nibi*, or *la niba kabitti*, have much the same meaning.

*Abuka*, spoliavi. The verb meant properly *evacua-*

*La palikh belluti-ya* should perhaps be rendered "who paid no reverence to my *Deity*," *i. e.* Ashur.

*Whom the gods had abandoned* (line 38) should be perhaps "who had abandoned the gods," *i. e.* the Assyrian gods, and served others.

*Wemassharu*, from מסר, to abandon.

*Mati*, a place. The word for "mountain" was written the same, but perhaps was pronounced differently. The sign ▼▼ has other values besides *mat*, for instance *pil* and *kur*. It has perhaps one of these values when it means "a mountain." *Pili* would mean "a rock." *Kuri* might be viewed as related to Russian *goru*, mountain.

*Ittakil*, he trusted. From Chald. and Syr. *takal*, תכל, 'confidit, fiduciam habuit' (Schindl. 1970).

| | |
|---|---|
| 42. Sumi ilim rabim ana akharim itshatu, | The names of the great gods he carved upon his idols, |
| 43. ana emukin-sun ittaklu. | and to their mysterious powers he trusted. |
| 44. Anaku ana Ashur bel-ya attakilu. | But I trusted unto Ashur, my lord. |

*Akharim*. Heb. אחרים, idols.

*Itshatu*, he carved. Heb. עצד, *etshad* (Ges. 787), to cut or carve wood with a sharp-edged tool. This verb occurs in the Michaux inscription, last line of col. i., *nish ilim rabim in . . . . . suata itshat*, "signa deorum magnorum in tabulâ hâc sculpsit." The custom of carving the emblems of the Assyrian deities on idol statues, to augment their power, is mentioned twice in this inscription: Col. III. 11, and Col. III. 47.

*Emukin*. Heb. עמק, profundus.

*Ittaklu*, same as *ittakil*, in l. 39.

*Attakilu*, first person singular of same verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| 45. Kima itzuri valtu kireb mati | Like an antelope from the midst of the mountain |
| 46. amassu; akkireb kat-zu. | I caught him up, and bound his hands with fetters. |
| 47. Assu danan Ashur bel-ya. | Then I marked upon him the emblem of Ashur, my lord. |

The comparison of lines 45, 46, with 17, 18, is curious. One captive was taken on the seas, the other in the mountains.

*Itzuri*, a mountain goat, or antelope. From Heb. עז, *etz* or *ez*, a goat, and צור, *tzur*, a rock. Goat of the rocks: *rupicapra* in Latin.

It is very curious that the antelope, or bouquetin, of the Pyrenees, the *izzard*, retains this name in the Basque language. It is possible that the resemblance may be accidental, but it deserves examination.

I understand line 47 to mean that the captive chief was *devotus*, doomed to death.

| | |
|---|---|
| 48. nisi zir limi imma | |
| 49. reshdun Sanduarri | The heads of Sanduarri and |
| 50. u Abdimilkutti, | Abdimilkutti, |
| 51. as kishadi nisi-rabi-sun apakhu; | with the heads of their principal chiefs, I struck off; |
| 52. itti . . . . . u is; tar u shal, | and along with the slaves, old men, children, and women, |
| 53. as ribit Ninua etittik. | to the palace of Nineveh I sent them. |

Line 48 is obscure.

*Nisi*, men; *zir*, race; *limi*, festival; *imma*, the same. Perhaps it means that the men of his family

were immolated at the same religious festival or *auto-da-fé*.

*Kishadi*, heads; elsewhere *kishadati*. But *kishadi* also means the side of anything, the bank of a river, etc. The sense of *as kishadi* is therefore dubious, it may perhaps mean "by the side of" those of the chiefs.

*Apakh* is a doubtful reading: it may be *atar*. If *apakh* is right, it may be derived from Chald. *napakh*, נפק, in another conjugation אפק. On the other hand, *atar* may be the Chald. נתר, *natar*, excussit, decussit, loco suo movit; whence Hiph. *attar*, אתר, dejecit, decussit, detraxit.

I am not sure how the word was pronounced which I have rendered "slaves" in l. 52.

*Is* or *ish* is an abbreviation of the Heb. word ישיש, *isis* or *ishish*, 'senex, canis capillis' (Ges. 452, 455).

*Tar* and *shal* are likewise compendious or abbreviated signs for children and women.

*Ribit*: the meaning of this common word is very uncertain. Sometimes it seems to mean a palace, at other times a city gate: and a hill.

*Etittik*, I sent; literally, I caused to be moved. It is the *t* conjugation of *etik*, עתק, to move: 'dimovit, transtulit' (Ges. 807).

| | |
|---|---|
| 54. Shalil ir Ar . . . . . | Spoiler of the city Ar . . . . . |
| 55. . . . . Musri. | . . . . . land of Egypt. |

Of this paragraph only the commencement remains, and that in a mutilated state. It treated apparently of the king's Egyptian campaign.

## *Column II.*

The commencement of this column is broken. In the part which is lost, the king seems to have said that he cut off the heads of some rebels.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . . itkie su, | . . . . . I collected them [*the heads*], |
| 2. ana Ashur-ki weraha, | unto Assyria I sent them off, |
| 3. as dikhi bab-rabi sha utdu sha Ninua, | and opposite the Great Eastern Gate of the city of Nineveh, |
| 4. itti atsi riku . . . . . | along with the heap of corpses (*there already*) |
| 5. weshasib sununti kamish. | I left them to remain for ever. |

*Weraha*, or *werakha*: probably from רכב, *rakab*, a vehicle.

*Utdu*, the East: literally "the Rising;" so in Latin *Oriens*.

*Atsi*, a heap: occurs frequently.

*Riku* is used in the annals of Ashurakhbal for "the corpses of the slain," in the passage where he says, "I threw the slain into the Euphrates." It may be derived from Heb. רקק or רק, *rik*, to smite.

The horizontal wedge which commences the sign *ri* is sometimes placed under it, as here. Perhaps, however, the word should be read *likku*. This would equally mean "the slain," for it may be derived from the Chaldee לקא, *likka*, to slay (Schindler, 955). But this verb in Arabic means *abjecit*, *projecit*, which perhaps gives a better sense.

*Kamish*, for ever, is frequent in Sargon's inscriptions, where it is always written in the abbreviated form *ka*, with a plural sign added. The etymology may be from Chald. קים, *kim*, manens, durans.

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. u Tiuspa Gimirraya, | And Teispes, king of the *Sacæ?* |
| 7. zab sarda sha ashar-su ruku | a rebellious warrior, whose abode was far distant |
| 8. as kiti Khubusan, | in the land of Khubsan, |
| 9. adi gimir ummanati-su weratziba as isku. | and all his army I destroyed with my weapons. |

*Teispes*, an old Persian name. One of the ancestors of Darius had the same name.

*Sarda*, probably for *sarra*, Chald. סר and סרר, 'rebellis, contumax, perversus' (Schindl. 1244). But the Chald. *sarba*, סרב, has exactly the same meaning (Sch. 1245), so that it is doubtful which word answers to the Assyrian.

*Weratziba*. This verb may be the Heb. רצח, occîdit; or else רצע, 'transfixit' (Ges. 949). In either case a *vau* has usurped the place of the last letter. A similar change is seen in the two Arabic verbs رصع and رصف, both of which signify "paved with stones," Sch. 1764.

| | |
|---|---|
| 10. Kabits kisudi nisi mat khilakki; | Trampler upon the infamous tribes of the Robber Country; |
| 11. mat duhuka asibut kharshani, | a race of outlaws inhabiting the forests, |
| 12. sha dikhi mat Tabal. | which are in front of the fertile (or civilized) country. |

*Kabits* or *kabish* occurs frequently. It is the Heb. כבש, *kabish*, 'pedibus conculcavit, pedibus subjecit' (Ges. 465).

*Kisudi*, rascals: Heb. חסדי, *khisudi*, 'probrosi' (Ges. 356). Schindler (p. 620) says, Chald. חסודא, *khisuda*. Syr. חסד, impietas, immisericordia, crudelitas, opprobrium, maleficium.

*Khilakki* does not here mean the land of Cilicia, but the country of Robbers. *Khilakki* are the *khilak*, חלק, or robbers, in Job xvii. 5, "qui prædatoribus, ל חלק, prodit amicos;" see Ges. 345. But I have no doubt we have here the true origin of the name of the Cilicians in Asia Minor; for the tribes of that nation were infamous as robbers, from the earliest times.

*Duhuka*, outcasts of society, outlaws: Heb. and Syr. *duhuk*, דחק, 'expulit, abjecit, ejecit, repudiavit' (Schaaf's Lex. p. 111).

*Tabal*, תבל, terra fertilis et habitata: *οικουμενη* (Ges. 1045). Here opposed to the *kharshani*, or wild forests. The root is יבל. In all probability we here see the origin of the name of the land of Tabal or Tubal. It was descriptive of the country as compared with its neighbours; like "the Highlands" and "the Lowlands."

13. sha eli mati-sun ittaklu,
14. valtu tami pani la iknusu ana niri;
15. xxi iri-sun dannuti,
16. adi iri tsakhiri sha limiti-sun,
17. almi aksut ashlula shallat-sun;
18. abbul aggur as . . . . . akmu.

who trusted to their mountains,
and from ancient times had never bowed down to the yoke;
twenty-one of their strong cities,
and the small towns adjoining to them,
I attacked and took them, and carried off their spoils;
then I ruined and destroyed them, and burnt them with fire.

*Mati-sun* I have rendered "their mountains," but it may mean "the nature of their country." The use of the word is extremely vague.

19. Sittuti-sun sha khitthu
20. u kullulut la isu,
21. ittu nir belluti-ya ebit tzunuti.

The best of them, who crimes and murders had not committed,
I only compelled to receive my yoke.

*Khitthu.* Heb. חטא, *khitha,* 'peccatum, delictum' (Ges. 331). Perhaps, however, we should read *khitlu,* murders. Heb. קטל, cædes, from קטל, 'occîdit' (Ges. 889).

*Kullul* is probably a murder, from Heb. *khalil,* חלל, 'vulneravit, confodit, transfodit, interfecit' (Ges. 342).

*Isu,* fecerunt; from Heb. *asah,* עשה, fecit.

*Ittu.* The first sign in this word signifies "one." It was pronounced *hid* or *hêd.* It is the Heb. חד, *unus.* The meaning of *ittu* appears from the context. The king is speaking of the mercy he showed to some of his enemies, "coëgi eos *ittu* (unicè) subire jugum."

*Ebit* seems to mean "servire fecit vel subjugavit." Perhaps it is the Heb. העביד, Hiph. of עבד, serviit. With this whole passage, compare Sennacherib's inscription (B. M. 39, 5), where that monarch pardons some of the inhabitants of Ekron — Sittuti-sun, la babil khiditi u kullulti, sha arati Il la ibsu, usshur-sun akbi. "The best of them, who were not stained with crimes and murders, and who had never swerved from the true religion of God, those I commanded to be rewarded." Here *khiditi* answers to *khitthu* of the Esarhaddon inscription, and *kullulti* to *kullulut. Babil* appears to mean 'stained,' from בל or בלל, 'maculavit, inquinavit' (Ges. 151). The Bellino inscription, l. 13, replaces *babil khiditi* by *bel khiddi. Arati* is explained in the lex. "pietas ergà Deum," and "probitas, reverentia;" from the Heb. ירא, pius probus fuit, Deum timuit. *La ibsu* nunquam cessaverunt; from Heb. אחם, 'cessavit' (Ges. 88). This verb is used in the inscriptions of Ashurakhbal, where he says that *la ibsu* (he had never ceased) from gaining

victories over foreign nations. "I commanded to be rewarded" is Dr. Hincks's translation (Museum, vol. i. p. 215), and seems very probable. *Akbi* frequently means "I gave command." *Usshur*, to reward: this verb I would derive from *shur*, a golden bracelet, a frequent mark of honour. Heb. שׁרה, 'armilla, torques, catena' (Ges. 1038).

| | |
|---|---|
| 22. Daish mati Barnaki nakru akissu, | Conqueror of the land of Barnaki, who are enemies and heretics, |
| 23. asibut Til-Ashurri, | dwelling in Til-Ashur, |
| 24. sha in pi nisi | which in the tongue of the people themselves |
| 25. ir Mikhranu, ir Pitanu, | the cities Mikran and Pitan |
| 26. inambu zigir-sun. | men call their names. |

*Nakru akissu.* See Col. I. 37.

*In pi nisi*, in ore hominum.

*Inambu.* The verb *namba*, vocare, occurs frequently, and must, I think, be referred to the Indo-Germanic root *nomen*, *ὄνομα*: Pers. *nam*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 27. Mushippikh nisi Mannaya, | Disperser of the inhabitants of the land of Manna, |
| 28. kutu la tsanaku; | who did not keep their (*treaty?*) |
| 29. sha ummanati Ishpakaya, | (and) who the army of Ispakiah, |
| 30. Ashguzaya, ikru la mushazibi-su, | king of Ashguza, a crowd of soldiers who could not save themselves, |
| 31. inaru as esku. | destroyed with his weapons. |

*Mushippikh*, from שׁפך, *shapak*, to disperse.

*Ikru*, an armed host; probably from Heb. אגר, to collect together. When the king of Susa led a vast army against Sennacherib, the assembled multitude is termed *ikru rabu.*

*Mushazib*, particip. of Chald. שזב, *shazib*, to save.

| | |
|---|---|
| 32. Damish Nabo-zir-gisidi pal Marduk-baladan, | Conqueror of Nabo-zir-gisidi, son of Merodach-Baladan, |
| 33. sha ana sar Elamti ittaklu, | who trusted to the king of Susiana, |
| 34. la weshazibu napshat-zu. | but did not thereby save his life. |

*Nabo-zir-gisidi* appears to mean "Nebo loves the race;" from Heb. חסיד, *khisid*, benignus ('de Deo, gratiosus,' Ges. 357). It is not impossible that the name of his father Marduk-baladan may have meant similarly "Marduk, love the child!" from עדן, *adan*, deliciæ. The usual etym. is from *nadan*, to give (fut. *idan*); but the other meaning may be supported by the example of an ancient monarch, whose name was Ninev-bal-ukkur, "Ninev, love the child!" from יקר carus fuit.

*Ittaklu*, he trusted; from Chald. and Syr. תכל, *takal*, fidit, confidit.

| | |
|---|---|
| 35. Nahit-Marduk akh-su | Then Neith-Marduk, his brother |
| 36. ashsu epish arduti-ya. | made haste to do homage to me. |

The name of Nahit-Marduk may mean "Marduk is glorious." Compare the name of king Nabo-nahid, viz. "Nebo is glorious."

*Ashsu* is a doubtful word. If it is a verb, it may be חשׁ, *hash*, festinavit, *i. e.* he made haste to come, and do homage; see Schindler, p. 549. Or perhaps it may be עץ, "he resolved," "he took the resolution," viz. to come and pay homage to me.

| | |
|---|---|
| 37. Valtu kireb Elamti innabtu; | From the land of the Susians he made his escape; |

38. ana Ninua ir belluti-ya — unto Nineveh, the city of my royalty,

39. illik-amma, wenassik nirya. — he came and kissed my yoke.

40. Mat parti ana sikhirti-sha, — The entire district on the Sea-coast,

41. ridut akhi-su weshatkil panussu. — which was the inheritance of his brother, I gave to him.

*Ana sikhirta-sha*, in its entirety, or throughout the whole of it. The same as *ana gimirti-sha*.

*Ridut*, inheritance. This is the Syr. ירתותא, *irtuta*, inheritance, wanting the initial vowel. Root ירת in Syriac, but ירש in Hebrew, hæres fuit; dropping the vowel in the imp. and inf. רש, רשת (Ges. 447). The resemblance of *hæres* to ירש, and of *hæred-* to ירת, and *hæredit(as)* to ירתות, is so close that I think the Romans had this word from the Etruscans, who brought it from the East. The resemblance has not escaped Gesenius, who says, "nescio an Lat. heres, heredis, ejusdem originis sit."

The eldest brother having died in Susiana (see l. 34), the inheritance of old Merodach-Baladan's kingdom devolved on the next brother, Nahit-Marduk, and the king of Assyria confirmed him in it, on condition that he acknowledged his supremacy.

*Weshatkil*, I gave, properly means "I entrusted" the government of these lands to him. It is the *sha* or causative conjugation of *takal*, תכל, confidit, which verb we had in line 33.

42. Nabiha mati Beth-Dakkurri, — Destroyer of the city of Beth-Dakkurri,

43. sha kireb Kaldi yab Babil. — which is in Chaldæa, and is the enemy of Babylon.

44. Kamish Shems-ebni sar-su, — Conqueror of Shems-ebni, its king,

45. ish kilbu kilbithu la palikhu zikri Bel bieli.

an old man—vile and hateful—who would not worship the name of the lord of lords (viz. *Marduk*).

*Yab*, an enemy. The plural of this word, *yabi*, is very common, but the singular is rare. It is the Heb. אויב, hostis; from root איב, odit, hostis fuit.

*Shems-ebni*, i. e. "the Sun created him." The same verb is seen in the name of king Ashur-bani-pal, and in the phrase *abi-bani-ya*, "my father."

*Ish* is the Heb. ישיש, senex. This word has already been treated of in Col. I. 52.

*Kilbu kilbithu* probably means "dog of dogs," from Heb. כלב. Vituperative epithets abound when heretics are spoken of. Susubi has the epithet *Kalebaia*. Another enemy is contemptuously called "the son of nobody."

46. sha asibut nasikkan Babilu

(and) who many of the common people, subjects of the princes of Babylon

47. u Bartship as parikti itbalu.

and Borsippa, had seduced into heresy.

48. Assu anaku bulukti Bel u Nabiu, idu

Then the true worship of Bel and Nebo, among

49. asibut sinati wetaru.

these people I re-established.

The monogram for "princes" is of doubtful pronunciation, perhaps *nasikkan*.

*Parikti* is probably *heresy*, or rather *schism*, from Heb. *parak*, separavit.

*Itbalu*. *T* conjugation of Heb. בלל or בלה, Ges. 151, 'maculavit, deturpavit;' also 'confudit (maximè sermonem).' Either sense suits well. The land was *thrown into confusion* by its prince renouncing the wor-

ship of Marduk. It is possible however that *as parikti itbalu* may be "he *plunged* them into heresy;" from Heb. טבל, *tabal*, immersit.

*Assu*, then. This word may be compared with the Heb. אשר, then, which occurs in Deut. ii. 22, etc. The final *r* is sometimes omitted in Assyrian, as *tsiba*, a heap; Heb. *tsibar*.

*Idu*, among. Several words occur in the inscriptions derived from Heb. חד, *hid* or *id* (unus), such as *in id*, unà. Indeed the common preposition *itti*, unà cum, appears to be thence derived, unless it is the Heb. את, one of the meanings of which is 'with.'

*Bel* may mean here "the lord," *i. e.* Marduk, and not the god Bel.

| | |
|---|---|
| 50. Pan nasikkan Babil u Bartship | (And) to the princes of Babylon and Borsippa |
| 51. weshatkil. | I gave them. |
| 52. Neboshallim pal Balatzu, | Neboshallim, son of Balatzu, |
| 53. as guza-su weshasibu, | I placed upon his throne (i. e. *that of Shems-ebni*), |
| 54. ishada abshani. | and he did homage to me. |

*Pan* is used as a preposition, meaning 'belonging to' or 'possessed by,' ex. gr. *weshatkil panussun* (for *pan sun*), "I gave into their possession."

*Weshatkil.* See line 41 of this column.

*Nebo-shallim*, i. e. Nebo save! or perhaps as a substantive, "Nebo, the saviour."

The last line occurs frequently, but the spelling varies. Generally it is *isuthu abshani.* It means that "he did homage to me;" but the grammatical construction is uncertain.

*Ishada* is probably from חסד.

| | |
|---|---|
| 55. Ir Adumu, ir dannuti mati Aribi, | The city of Edom, the strongest city of the land of the Arabians, |
| 56. sha Senakhirib sar Ashur | which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, |
| 57. (*abu*) banu-ya iksudu | my father, had conquered ..... |

The rest of this paragraph is broken off. The word *abu* is also destroyed.

## *Column III.*

The first three lines of this column are destroyed.

### THE SUPPLIANT KING.

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. itti tamarti-su kabitti, | with his abundant presents, |
| 5. ana Ninua, ir belluti-ya, | unto Nineveh, my royal city, |
| 6. illik-amma, wenassik nir-ya. | he came, and kissed my yoke. |
| 7. Assu natan ilu-su wetsalla anima; | Then holding forth to me his gods, he made supplication to me; |
| 8. rimu arsi-su; | I took pity on him; |
| 9. ilu shatunu ankhut-sun uttishu, | I repaired the injuries on those images of his gods, |
| 10. danan Ashur bel-ya, | the emblems of Ashur, my lord, |
| 11. u sidhir mu-ya eli-sun weshashdiru, | and the writing of my own name, I caused to be written on them, |
| 12. wetaru attan-su. | and I gave them back to him again. |

*Natan*, נתן, in the sense of 'extendens manum, porrigens' (Ges. 1062).

*Rimu*, with pity; Heb. רחם, 'misertus est' (Ges. 933).

*Arsi-su*, I received him kindly. The root seems to be Heb. רצה, 'benevolè excepit dona ferentem' (Ges. 948).

The last part of line 9 occurs in many other inscriptions. I would derive *ankhut* from ענה, *anah*, to injure, which in Assyrian seems to have been ענח. A tense of this verb occurs frequently, *inakhu*, it shall decay (said of a palace).

*Sidhir*, to write, and subst. a writing. Hence in the *sha* conjugation *weshashdhir*, I caused to be written.

*Wetaru* or *utaru:* adverb, 'again;' this word occurs frequently.

| | |
|---|---|
| 13. Shal tabu-ya tarbit haikal-ya, | A young woman, brought up in my palace, |
| 14. ana saruti eli-sun ashkun; | I appointed to be queen over them; |
| 15. itti ilu-sha ana mat-sha we-tar-si. | with her gods unto her country I restored her. |

*Shal tabu*, a young woman. This adjective occurs in B. M. 41, 4. *Akh-su tabu-ssu*, his younger brother.

*Tarbit*, brought up; feminine from רבה, to grow up: Ges. 919, 'adolevit.' It seems that she became the wife of the suppliant monarch; this however is not very clearly expressed.

| | |
|---|---|
| 16. LXV gamali eli madatti | 65 camels, increased beyond the tribute |
| 17. abu-ya makriti weraddi, | [*he paid to*] my late father, |
| 18. hukin tsirussu. | I imposed upon him. |
| 19. Arka Hazael shimut ..... | After (*I had deprived Hazael of the crown?*) |
| 20. Yahilu, tar-su, | Yahilu, his son, |
| 21. as guza-su weshasib. | I placed upon his throne. |
| 22. X mana (*auri*): (mille lapides) biruti, | Ten *minæ* of gold: a thousand precious stones: |
| 23. L gammali: M kunzi-shimdi, | 50 camels: a thousand ..... |
| 24. eli madati abi-su uraddi ebitzu. | increased beyond the tribute which his father paid, I imposed upon him. |

The meaning of line 19 is uncertain. *Shimut* may be the same as *simat*, a crown.

The phrase *hukin tsirussu*, line 18, generally marks the conclusion of a subject. I therefore suppose that Hazael was not the same person as "the suppliant king."

Ten *minæ* would be about £40 sterling of our money.

*Biruti.* The root seems to be Heb. פאר, *par*, 'pulcher fuit' (Ges. 809), whence פאר, a tiara or diadem. A similar word, the precious *paruti* stone, is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions.

*Uraddi* or *weraddi*, augmented. Here it appears to be a participle.

## THE CONQUEST OF THE MARSH COUNTRY OF LOWER CHALDÆA.

| | |
|---|---|
| 25. Batzu nagu sha ashar-su ruku, | The Marsh Country, whose situation is remote, |
| 26. milak nabali ebgar munakhir zumi, | a great district of overflowed land, cursed with famine, |

*Batzah*, a marsh; Heb. בצה, 'palus' (Ges. 165); and בץ, cœnum, lutum.

*Nagu*, a province or district, occurs frequently.

*Milak* or *malak*, a long journey; from הלך, *alak*, ire, proficisci. Thus we have *malak* 30 *kasbu*, a distance or voyage of 30 leagues.

*Nabali*, overflowed. Compare *nabalish wetar*, 'I filled it to overflowing'—said of a canal which the king caused to be made (Bellino's Cylinder). Root related to Heb. נבע, copiosè effudit, scaturivit.

*Munakhir*, from נכר, 'infortunium' (Ges. 669). This word is used for "great calamity or ruin," Job xxxi. 3,

and Obad. line 12, "ne rideas in die *calamitatis* (נכר) fratris tui."

*Zumi* or *tzumi*, famine; Heb. צום, jejunare, and subst. jejunium.

| | |
|---|---|
| 27. CXL kasbu ebgar batsi, | 140 leagues of marsh land, |
| 28. bukutta u takkazabit; | uninhabited, and utterly worthless; |
| 29. XX kasbu ebgar tsir u rutap, | then 20 leagues of a high and well-watered country, |
| 30. sha kima..... | which like..... |

*Kasbu* I have translated "a league." When used for a measure of time, it is two hours.

*Bukutta*, void of inhabitants; Heb. בוקה, evacuatio, depopulatio, in Nahum.

*Takkazabit*, quite worthless; see Schindler, 855. The root is כזב, *kazab*, vanus, nugax, inanis. Perhaps however it is from the Hiph. form, הכזיב, *hakkazib*, "conviciis premere," to speak of a thing as worthless. In that case we may translate *takkazabit*, a land "of evil repute," or "very ill spoken of."

*Tsir u rutap* I have rendered "high and well-watered." *Tsir* signifies "high," and occurs in that sense very frequently.

*Rutap* is well irrigated, and causing fertility; see Schindler, 1731, רטב, maduit, irrigatus fuit, viruit. Arab. *rutab*, humidi, molles, teneri. Chald. רטיב, humidus, viridis. Job xxiv., "They shall be moistened (ירטבו) by the mountain streams" (as translated by Schindler). This seems to have been the only part of the south country worth conquering.

Line 30 is difficult, and I observe that the other cylinder omits lines 29, 30, and substitutes quite a different phrase; see B. M. (1st series), pl. 56, 12. It

is, however, illegible, except the first word *ashar*, a place.

| | |
|---|---|
| 31. XX kasbu mati khatzu, | Then 20 leagues of broken |
| shaddi abnam, shakkil nam, | country, a region of rocks, barren in the extreme, |
| 32. ana arka-ya wemasshiru; | behind me I left; and I then |
| etik | marched |
| 33. nagu suatu sha valtu tami | into a region, which in former |
| valluti | times |
| 34. la illiku sar pani makhri-ya. | no king, of all my ancestors, had ever penetrated. |
| 35. As kibit Ashur bel-ya, | By the command of Ashur, my lord, |
| 36. as girbi-su shaldanish attal-lak. | into the midst of it proudly I advanced. |

*Khatzu*, fractus; from Syr. קצא, fregit. Compare French *casser*.

*Shaddi*. Heb. שדה, campus, ager.

*Shakkil*. Heb. שכל, 'sterilis fuit' (Ges. 1003); שכול, quite deserted; 'ab omnibus relictus' (Ges.).

*Nam*: this particle seems to mean 'exceedingly.' I am not sure to what root it should be referred, but perhaps to the Arabic נמא, *nama*, otherwise נמי, *nami*, crevit, multiplicavit; and as a subst., נמו, נמה, *namu*, *nameh*, 'multiplicatio;' see Schindler 1124.

*Wemashiru*, from מסר, reliquit, which occurs frequently in the inscriptions.

*Etik*. Heb. עתק, 'castra movit,' in Hiph. (Ges. 807).

*Nagu suatu*, that region. I have introduced these two words, which are found on the second cylinder. They seem very necessary to the sense.

*Kibit*, a command; from the same root as *akbi*, I commanded; *ikbu*, he commanded; *ikbuni*, they commanded.

*Shaldanish*, from Heb. שלט, dominus fuit. Chald. שלטן, dominus. Hence the word Sultan or Soldan, according to Schindler, Lex. p. 1873.

*Shaldanish*, "like a king," or "proudly, with royal state."

*Attallak*, *t* conjugation of the verb *allak*, to advance. Heb. הלך.

| | |
|---|---|
| 37. VIII sarin sha kireb nagie suata | Eight kings of the interior of that country |
| 38. aduk. Ilu-sun, shasu-sun, shaga-sun, | I slew. Their gods, their treasures, their goods, |
| 39. u nisi-sun ashlula ana kireb Ashur-ki. | and their people, I carried away captive into Assyria. |
| 40. Layali, sar ir Yadihu, | Layali, king of the city of Yadihu, |
| 41. sha valta lapan eskuti-ya ipparsidu, | who had fled from before my arms, |
| 42. shallat ilu-su ishmiu | hearing of the capture of his gods, |
| 43. ana Ninua-ki ir belluti-ya, | unto Nineveh, my royal city, |
| 44. adi tsirri-ya illik-amma | unto my majesty he came, and |
| 45. wenassik nir-ya. | kissed my yoke. |
| 46. Rimu arsi-su: aktabi-su ashak. | I took pity on him. I commanded that he should be pardoned. |

*Aktabi* is the *t* conjugation of *akbi*, "I gave command." This verb frequently occurs, *ex. gr.* when Sennacherib took the city of Ekron, he put to death the rebellious citizens, but there was a loyal minority whom he spared and rewarded. The words are, *usshur-sun akbi*, I gave command to honour or decorate them, see B. M. 39, 7.

*Ashak* means probably to pardon; from ישע, liberare, pronouncing the ע hard, as the Arabic *ghain*. The same root occurs, I think, in the name of a man

on the Zaaleh stone, viz. San-sik-ash-ka, or "San, preserve thy votary!" He was probably a priest of San, the lunar deity. But if this explanation of *ashak* is not admissible, I think the word may be an error for *ashur*, to decorate; the word (whatever it is) being partly defaced on the cylinder.

| | |
|---|---|
| 47. Ilu-su sha ashlula, danan Ashur bel-ya, | His gods which I had captured; the emblem of Ashur, my lord, |
| 48. eli-sun ashthuru, utaru attan-su. | upon them I inscribed, and I gave them to him once more. |
| 49. Nagie mati Batzi suata | Those provinces of the Marsh Country |
| 50. weshatkil panussu: | I entrusted to his jurisdiction; |
| 51. tikun mandatta belluti-ya | a settled tribute to my majesty |
| 52. hukin tsirussu. | I imposed upon him. |

*Weshatkil*, I entrusted, is the *sha* conjugation of *takil*, to trust. Chald. תכל, 'confidit' (Schindler, 1970).

| | |
|---|---|
| 53. Belbasha pal Bunani Gambulaya, | Belbasha, son of Bunani, king of the Gambuli tribe, |
| 54. sha as XII kasbu ebgar as mami u gishukki, | who [*in an island*] 12 leagues [*from the land*] amidst the waters and the waves, |
| 55. kima nuni meshkunu ruta. | like fishes have placed their humid dwellings. |

After describing the conquest of the Marsh country of Lower Chaldæa, he passes on to their neighbours the Gambuli, who dwelt in some small islands in the Persian Gulf, where probably some of them followed the occupation of pearl fishers, for which that sea has always been famous. Their humid way of life is particularly spoken of.

*Kasbu* alone is a measure of time (two hours), but *kasbu ebgar* is a measure of length, which I have vaguely translated "a league." *Ebgar* is earth or land, but I am uncertain how the word was pronounced.

*Mami*, if I have written the word rightly, is the Heb. מים, waters.

*Gishukki* I suppose to mean "waves," which are elsewhere called *gibishti*.

*Ruta* may be the same word as *rutab*, humidus, which we have already had in this inscription, Col. III. 29. This sense seems to suit the passage well. In Job xxiv. 8, רטב, maduit pluviâ, to be wet with rain. Here "to be always wet with the spray of the sea" may be the meaning intended.

| | |
|---|---|
| 56. as kibit Ashur bel-ya khatu imkutzu, | On [*hearing*] the command of Ashur, my lord, he was struck with terror. |
| 57. ki bilim ramani-su | |
| 58. bilut u mandatta | tribute and offerings [*he brought to my majesty*]. |
| . . . . . | |

The first cuneiform sign in *khatu* is generally to be pronounced *pa*. The value *kha*, which occurs in this word and in a few others, is comparatively very rare. A special example of it is seen in the name of the great nation of the *Khati* or *Khatti*, viz. Syria. That it was pronounced as *kha* in the present word, appears from the frequent occurrence of the phrase *khatu imkutzu*, or *imkutzu khatu* in other inscriptions, written with the usual form of the syllable *kha*. *Khatu* is the Heb. חת, terror.

*Imkutzu*, he was struck; from *makhatz* or *makhaz*, to strike. Heb. מחץ, percussit. Another derived word

from this root is *takhazi*, battle, which frequently occurs in the inscriptions.

The meaning of line 57 is doubtful. *Ramani* usually signifies 'soldiers,' or perhaps 'officers.'

*Ki bilim ilimu*, "by command of the gods," is a frequent phrase. But *ki bilim ramani-su*, "by command of his officers," or "the chiefs of his army," is a very improbable translation. We might say, perhaps, "by *consent* of his chiefs," or "urged by them," he sent tribute to me. Perhaps, however, his *ramani* were his gods or higher powers, from רמם, altus fuit. But I have not found this meaning of *ramani* elsewhere.

## *Column IV.*

1. . . . . wenassik nir-ya.
2. rimu arsi-su: wesharkits shurruti.
3. Ir Shapi-Bel ir dannuti-su,
4. dannat-zu wedanninu;
5. Shaasu adi zabi-kim-su as libbi
6. weshali-su;
7. kima ikti Elamti edil-su.

. . . . . and he kissed my yoke.
I took pity on him: I gave him a golden necklace.
Of Shapi-Bel, his fortified city,
I strengthened the fortifications;
himself and his archers within the city
I left;
and like a palm-tree of the land of Elamti, I caused him to flourish.

*Wesharkits*, the *sha* conjugation of Heb. רכס, *rakis*, ligavit.

*Shurrut*, a chain or necklace of honour, from Heb. שרות, *shurut*, catenæ, armillæ (Ges. 1038); from שרה, à contorquendo dictæ, ut Lat. torques.

*Wesharkits shurruti* is therefore, 'I bound him with a chain of honour, or placed a golden collar round his neck.'

*As libbi*, in the interior thereof.

*Weshali*, probably for *weshari*, I left; from Heb. *shar*, שאר, 'reliquus fuit' (Ges. 975).

*Edil.* This verb means in Assyrian, to repair or restore, or exalt and beautify. Thus in B. M. 70, 23 (first series), a king calls himself the *Mudil*, or Restorer of the temple of Kharrish-Kurkura. It appears to be the Arabic עדל, *edel* (Ges. 739), to which he attributes the sense of 'generosus fuit;' while Schindler renders it 'renovavit,' which agrees with the Assyrian.

*Ikti.* This word has the sign for *tree* or *wood* prefixed to it.

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. Patusarra nagu, sha itie . . . | In the district of Patusarra, which borders upon . . . . . |
| 9. sha kireb Madaya rukuti, | which is in the further part of Media, |
| 10. sha padi Bikni, shaddi abni zamat: | in the province of Bikni, the country of the precious *zamat*-stone: |

*Patu* or *pati* evidently meant 'a city' in the Median tongue, for it is found in the names of many places.

*Itie*, the frontiers of a land.

*Padi* is probably the Heb. פאת, *pat*, latus, regio, *e. g.* מואב פאת, regio Moabi (Ges. 808); in fact, it is sometimes written *pat* in the Assyrian inscriptions, *e. g.* Botta, pl. 13, 11.

*Bikni.* The geographical position of this country has not yet been ascertained. Whenever it is named it is almost always added that it is the native region of the *zamat*-stone, a precious substance not yet identified.

*Zamat.* The pronunciation of this name is quite uncertain. Perhaps it should be read *zakur*, and may come from Heb. צחר, candidus, nitens. This, on the supposition that it was a white stone. But Rawlinson

thinks it was *lapis lazuli*. On the other hand, if the true pronunciation is *zamat*, it may have been a kind of jasper stone, which is called in Heb. ישפה, Gr. ἴασπιδ-: but in Arabic, with a slight change of the labial, يشمت *yashmat*, *yazmat*, which is not very remote from *zamat*. However, nothing certain is yet known about it.

| | |
|---|---|
| 11. sha as sarin abi-ya nin la ikbutzu | (which, among the kings my fathers, none ever trod |
| 12. kiti mat-sun. | the soil of their country). |
| 13. Sirep-parna, Eparna, | Sireparna and Eparna, |
| 14. Beli iri dannuti, | chiefs of fortified cities, |
| 15. sha la iknusu ana niri | who had not bowed down to my yoke, |
| 16. shaasun adi nisi-sun kurra rukubi-sun, | themselves and their people and their horses trained to draw chariots, |
| 17. ga, tsieni, . . . . . uduri, | their oxen, sheep, mules, and dromedaries, |
| 18. shallat-zun kabitta ashlula ana Ashur-ki. | and much spoil, I carried off to Assyria. |

*Ikbutzu*, or *ikbutsu*, from Heb. כבס, pedibus calcavit.

*Uduri*, elsewhere called *utturat*, appear to be dromedaries; Pers. *ustur*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 19. Uppits bel-ir sha ir Partakka, | Uppits, city-chief of the city Partakka, |
| 20. Zanasan bel-ir sha ir Parratka, | Zanasan, city-chief of the city Paratka, |
| 21. Ramatiya bel-ir sha ir Uraka-zabarna, | Ramatiya, city-chief of the city Uraka-zabarna, |
| 22. mati Madaya sha asharsun ruku, | Median cities whose situation is remote, |
| 23. sha as kutsi sarin abi-ya kiti Ashur | who in the times of the kings my fathers, the land of Assyria |
| 24. la ibbulkitunu, la ikbutzu ebgar-sha | never traversed, nor ever trod upon its soil |

25. bulukhut rarubi Ashur bel-ya iskhutsu sunuti,
(for now the dreadful terror of Ashur my lord had struck them),

26. karniski rabi, zamat khib mat-su,
noble stallions and precious *zamat* stones, the pride of their country,

27. ana Ninua ir belluti-ya
unto Nineveh, my royal city,

28. issunu, wenassiku nir-ya.
thêy brought, and kissed my yoke.

*Kutsi.* Heb. קצה, finis; Chald. קצת: Dan. iv. 31, לקצת יומים, in fine dierum.

*As kutsi* means here, 'in termino' (vitæ), during the lifetime. The phrase occurs frequently.

*Ibbulkitunu,* they traversed; from a quadriliteral root, *balkat,* transire, which seems peculiar to the Assyrian language. It has also a *t* conjugation, as *atta-balkat,* 'I passed by,' præterivi.

*Khib,* deliciæ. Syr. חובא, amor, dilectio. Root חב, amare.

29. Assu bieli iri shakaut itku sunuti,
Then the chiefs of certain revolted cities assembled themselves together,

30. Belluti wetsallu,
and supplicated my Majesty,

31. erisu inni ikru.
and cried to me most earnestly.

32. Sutrish-ya nisi nam . . . .
My officers, men of distinction

33. sha padi mati-sun,
belonging to those cities,

34. itti-sun wemahiru.
I commissioned to go along with them.

35. Nisi asibut iri shatunu
The inhabitants of those cities

36. ikbutsu, weshaknis-su nirussun.
they thoroughly subdued, and compelled them to bow down to their yoke.

*Shakaut,* 'in a state of revolt,' 'seduced,' 'led astray:' participle from Heb. *shaga,* שגה (Ges. 982), 'aberravit, peccavit,' etc., which is nearly the same as שגג, 'erravit, deliquit,' and, as a participle, 'seductus.'

*Itku*, 'they assembled,' third person plural. *Atki*, 'I assembled,' is the first person singular of same verb. It occurs frequently.

*E-ri-su* was pronounced *erish*, as appears from other passages. It is an adverb, meaning 'eagerly' or 'passionately.' It appears to be derived from Heb. חרה, arsit (Ges. 367), sæpe significat 'exarsit irâ.' (N.B. The Latin *ira* may have some ancient connection with this Semitic verb חרה.) We also find in Chald. חרא, exarsit, incensus fuit, iratus fuit, doluit, ægrè tulit, and the substantive חרי, ardor, ira, indignatio. The general sense of the passage is ascertained by comparing it with a passage in Botta, pl. 151, last line, where a rebellious king comes to implore mercy of Sargon.

*Wetsalla annima*, he besought me; *erish anni ikru*, earnestly he cried to me. If the two passages are placed in comparison, the parallelism of the sense will be manifest:—

*Sargon:* wetsalla annima, erish anni ikru.

*Esarhaddon:* belluti wetsallu, erisu inni ikru.

*Ikru*, they cried; from Heb. קרא, *kara*, to cry or call aloud.

*Sutrish*. This very common word, meaning always the king's officers or lieutenants, should perhaps be read *sutrin*. It is the Heb. שטר, scriba; γραμματεὺς, dein magistratus, præfectus populi. The *sutrim*, שטרים, were the magistrates of the people of Israel in Egypt, in the desert, and in Palestine. In Proverbs vi. and 2 Chron. xxvi. they are officers of a still higher rank (Ges. 997).

*Padi*. See line 10 of this column.

*Ikbutsu*, they crushed them, they trampled out the rebellion; Heb. כבס, pedibus calcavit.

*Nirussun*, 'to their yokes,' viz. those of the chiefs, their former rulers. *Sun* being destitute of accent, the accent falls on the last syllable of *niru*.

37. Tikun mandata belluti-ya matti uma hukin tsiru-sun. — A fixed tribute to my Majesty, measured equably, I imposed upon them.

*Matti uma*, with a measurement that was equal, similar, or uniform. This is said in praise of the king's justice.

*Mat*. Heb. מד, mensura. *Uma* or *umma*, similis.

Line 38 in one copy commences a new paragraph, which is evidently the proper arrangement, the subject being quite dissimilar from the preceding.

38. Valtu Ashur, Shemesh, Bel, u Nabiu, — After that Ashur, the Sun, Bel, and Nebo.
39. Ishtar sha Ninua, Ishtar sha Arbil, — Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbela,
40. eli nakiri-ya as liti — over my enemies, by victories,
41. weshazitzuni mamitsu, umala libbi-ya. — had established firmly my power, I fulfilled my heart's desire.
42. As kishitti nakiri matluti — Out of the spoils of foreign kingdoms
43. sha as tuzirti ili rabi bieli-ya, — which by the help of the great gods my lords
44. iksuḍa kata-ya, — my hands had seized,
45. ishrat makhazi sha mat Ashur, — ten large temples in Assyria
46. u Akkadi weshapishu; — and in Mesopotamia I erected;
47. kaspa khurassu wezakharu, — with silver and gold I adorned them,
48. wenammir kima tami. — and I made them as brilliant as the Sun.

Most of the words in this section are of common occurrence.

*Mamitsu* is the Heb. מאמצים, *mamitsim*, vires, facultates, opes (Ges. 539).

*Matlut* appears to be a Chald. form מתל of the Heb. משל, imperium, dominatio, regnum, etc.

*Tuzirti*, help; a verbal substantive, from the Heb. עזר, auxilium dare.

*Iksuda* should perhaps be construed as a passive, 'had been seized by my hands.' This verb is very common.

*Ishrat*. Heb. עשרת, *ishrat*, decem.

The verb in line 47 should perhaps be read *wezakharu*, if we may suppose the last sign but one to be erroneously given, Heb. צחר, candidus, nitens; or it may be *wezahin*, a verb which signifies 'to adorn a temple,' in the Phillips cylinder (Col. I. 33).

| | |
|---|---|
| 49. As tami su bit-rabu sarti | In those days the royal palace |
| 50. sha kireb Ninaa, | in the middle of Nineveh |
| 51. sha sarin alikut makhri abi-ya | which the kings, my fathers who went before me, |
| 52. weshapishu ana sutishur kilil, | erected for the accommodation of troops, |
| 53. pakadi karniski, susi, | and for the care (or safe keeping) of stallions and mares, |
| 54. rakabi belli hunuti takhazi, | and cars (or waggons) able to carry implements of war, |
| 55. u shallat nakiri gimir sutaksu | (*and for the safe custody of*) the foreign spoils and all manner of precious objects |
| 56. sha Ashur sar ilim | which Ashur, king of the gods, |
| 57. ana ishki sarti-ya ishruka, | had given abundantly to my royal arms, |

*Kilil*, troops; here probably the usual garrison of Nineveh. The word seems to be the Heb. חיל, exercitus.

*Bel*, in line 54, means 'able' or 'capable.' Here a

fractured portion of the cylinder intervenes, which probably mentioned that this palace was gone to decay, and that the king had resolved to rebuild it.

*Column V.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 2. malthu musikku weshassi sunuti | A multitude of captives I compelled |
| 3. ilbinu libidi. | to make bricks. |

As in Egypt, so in Assyria, the captives taken in war were generally employed in laborious works.

*Musikku.* The first sign appears to be erroneously given in the lithograph. I derive the word from Heb. חזק, to bind strongly. It occurs frequently in the inscriptions.

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. Haikal turra suatu | That old palace |
| 5. ana sikhirti-sha agguru. | I pulled down the whole of it. |

*Turra.* I think this adjective may be derived from Heb. דור, *dur*, sæculum; it will therefore signify *sæcularis*, or extremely old.

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. Ebgaru mahidu kireb kastim | A vast quantity of earth in baskets. |
| 7. valta libbi asibut abratu, | I removed from its former place, |
| 8. eli-sha weraddi; | and heaped that upon it (*i. e.* upon *the site* of the old palace); |
| 9. as pili mati danni | and with stones of vast size |
| 10. tala usmalli. | I finished the work of its mound. |

This account of the rebuilding of the palace is too concise to be easily intelligible. I may therefore refer to the fuller account given of a similar work in one of Sennacherib's inscriptions. See 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xix. p. 167.

*Ebgaru.* The syllable *ga* is defaced on the cylinder.

*Kireb kastim.* I have restored this passage from Sennacherib's inscription, for the text is erroneously given in the lithograph.

*Kastim*, some kind of vessels, or perhaps baskets. Heb. *kast*, קסת, a vessel (Ges. 896). Compare also קשה (Ges. 908).

*Asibut*, places. Other inscriptions have *ushalli*, which seems to mean 'low places,' from חשל.

*Mati*, size. Heb. מד, mensura.

*Usmalli*, may be the *sha* conjugation of *mala*, מלא, to complete or fulfil; but more probably that of *amal*, עמל, laboravit.

| | |
|---|---|
| 11. Atki XXII sarin Khati, | I assembled twenty-two kings of the Syrian nations, |
| 12. sha akhi parti u kabal parti kalî-sun, | those of the seacoast, and those of the islands, all of them, |
| 13. Wemahir sunuti. | and I passed them in review. |

*Khati.* We here see that this name included both the Phœnicians of the seacoast (including the Syrians of the interior) and also the inhabitants of Cyprus, who must therefore have spoken a dialect of the same language. This throws much light upon the חתי of Scripture (*vulgo* Chittim). The cuneiform sign, which is the first syllable of Khati, is generally used for *pa;* the value *kha* is borrowed from the Median or Scythic alphabet.

We now come to a long list of presents brought by these kings to their supreme monarch.

| | |
|---|---|
| 14. gushurrim rabim, timi tsiri, | Precious woods in large beams, |
| 15. its abimi, its . . . . . , its shurnish, | ebony-wood, cedar-wood, and shurnish-wood, |
| 16. valtu kireb Sirara, Lebnana, | from Sirar and Lebanon, |

17. shal ili danni, shallat zazati. — also pictures of the great gods; and sculptures to be fixed up against walls.

*Abimi* may be for *abini*, or ebony.

Cedar-wood has a peculiar symbol, of which the pronunciation is as yet uncertain.

*Shal* appears to signify a picture; from Heb. צֵל, 'imago, umbra,' which is probably the original root of צֶלֶם, a statue or image.

*Shalat zazati* appear to have been sculptures or images fixed up against a wall, and therefore what we call bas-reliefs. Great numbers of these are in the British Museum.

*Zazati*, fixed up; from Heb. עָז and עזז, *azaz*, of which verb the Assyrians seem to have possessed several other forms. When the king commands a tablet or decree to be *fixed up* for public inspection, he almost always uses the verb *weshaziz*, "I commanded to fix it," or "I had it fixed up." When Sennacherib was in the mountains of Nypûr he caused his workmen to quarry the finest white alabaster, and carve it into *shallat zazati*, probably bas-reliefs representing his triumphs.

18. . . . . ilu, agavri, — Statues of the gods, carved in stone;

19. sha itshir rabi, albutar, — slabs of granite and alabaster;

20. kumina, kumina tardu, — (*names of stones.*)

21. belgishak, alishdu; — (*ditto.*)

22. tak gina khilîba, valtu kireb karshani — various kinds of stone, from the forests

23. ashar nabniti-sun, — of the land of their birth,

24. ana khishakti haikal-ya, — for the adornment of my palace,

25. marsish paskish — with danger and difficulty

26. ana Ninua weshaldiduni. unto Nineveh they brought along with them.

Before *ilu* in line 18 is the symbol for "stone." They were therefore "stone gods," *i. e.* statues.

*Agavri*, elsewhere *agurri*, are slabs of any material good for building. Six or seven kinds of stone are here enumerated; most of them are as yet uncertain.

*Gina* is elsewhere used in the sense of "kind" or "species." It is sometimes written *du*, but that syllable had for its second value, *gina*, as in the name of the king Sar-du, *i. e.* Sar-gina, and the country of Beth Ya-du for Beth Ya-kina.

In the Annals (sheet 10, line penultimate) we read:—"I planted trees by the side of the canal; the best kinds (*gina*) I reserved for Ashur, my lord."

*Khiliba*, various, may be compared with Chaldee חלף, varius; so also in Arabic (Schindl. 586).

*Karshani* usually means *forests*, but here it is better to translate "wild country" or "hills."

*Khishak* appears to be the Chald. חשח, aptum fuit, commodum fuit; and as a substantive, usus, utilitas. See Col. VI. 46.

*Marsish paskish*, two adverbs derived from adjectives, both in very common use.

*Marsu* or *marsut* is the usual epithet of a hill, and means "steep" or "difficult."

*Paskut* has much the same meaning, and may be rendered "lofty" or "arduous."

*Weshaldiduni;* third plural. When the king himself causes a weighty load to be brought to Nineveh, he says, in the first singular, *ana Ninua weshaldad*. This verb appears to me to be the *sha* conjugation of *radad*, replacing *r* by *l*.

*Radad* in Arabic signifies 'movit, volvit, rettulit' (Sch. 1698).

The other cylinder makes a very important addition to this section, which treats of the visit of the twenty-two kings. It will be considered hereafter. It will be observed that the visit of the kings interrupts the account of the building of the palace; it was, no doubt, introduced in the wrong place by the original scribe.

| | |
|---|---|
| 27. As arki Shaga, (iom sumu) belgari, | In the month Shaga, on the day named *belgari*, |
| 28. eli tali suata | upon that mound |
| 29. bit-rebi rabbati | magnificent buildings |
| 30. ana miship belluti-ya | for the residence of my majesty |
| 31. abtani tsirussu. | I built upon it. |

"Upon that mound." These words refer us back to line 10, where the king says he constructed this mound, or *tala*. Line 27 must have followed next after line 10 originally.

*Abtani* is the *t* conjugation of *abni*, I built; Heb. בנה. Perhaps *abtani* meant "I began to build."

| | |
|---|---|
| 32. Bit danni sha XCV(.....) rebti buda | A great building of ninety-five measures in length |
| 33. XXXI (....) rebti omma, | and thirty-one measures in breadth, |
| 34. sha as sarin alikut makhri abi-ya | which among the kings, my fathers who went before me, |
| 35. nin la ebusu, anaku ebus: | none had ever made, I constructed: |

In line 32 I read the numeral as ninety-five, for I consider that a single vertical wedge means either *one*, *sixty*, or the *square of sixty*, according to circumstances.

"*Measures.*" The word *hu*, or *ammat*, is preceded

by a peculiar sign, representing one line as cut in half by another. Following Dr. Hincks, I translate it "a half."

*Rebti, i. e.* "in size" or "in length."

*Nin.* This seems a very clear example of the use in Assyrian of an Indo-Germanic root. English, *none, no one.* German, *nein.* Latin, *non* and *ne.* Greek *νη* (in *νημερτης*, etc.).

| | |
|---|---|
| 36. gushurri (. . . .) tsiruti | with beams of lofty cedar-trees |
| 37. weshatriza eli-sha | I constructed its roof; |
| 38. ik (. . . .) its shurnish, sha erits-sin khiga, | and to its (. . . .) made of shurnish-wood, whose sawn planks are excellent, |
| 39. mitsir kaspa u takabar werakkush | I fastened ornaments of silver and bronze |
| 40. werattah babat-sha. | and I affixed them to the gates. |

*Ik* seems to be only the *first syllable* of some word. These *ik* are very frequently mentioned, but I am unable to say what they were.

*Sha erits-sin khiga* means "whose *erits* are good," but the meaning of the word is doubtful. Perhaps it is the word given by Schindler, p. 1396, ערץ, 'scissura, fissura,' and implies that the *shurnish*-wood was peculiarly well adapted for being sawn into planks.

*Mitsir*, from Chald. and Syr. צור, *tsir*, 'effinxit, formavit,' and more especially 'pinxit, acupinxit, etc.;' in short, it meant generally "to ornament beautifully with some pattern." Hence Chald. מצור, *mitsir*, "covered with figures," or "adorned with a pattern." Also substantive, צור, imago (Schindl. 1540).

*Werakkush.* In this word I read the second syllable as *rak*, which value occurs on a tablet in the British Museum; and likewise in the Annals (sheet 6, line 103), one copy has *shal. tzuti*, which the other

explains by *ra . ka . tzuti*. I would compare this verb with the Heb. רכס, to fasten, and suppose it may mean that the *mitsir*, or ornaments of silver and bronze, were fastened on the wood, or inlaid into it.

*Werattah*, I would derive from the Heb. רתק, *ratakh*, ligavit, vinctus fuit, etc. (Sch. 1776). I suppose it to mean that these ornamental beams of wood were *fastened* to the gates, thereby making them very handsome. Perhaps, however, it would be better to translate *werattah*, "I set them up" at the gates.

*Babat-sha*, the gates of it, *i. e.* of the palace.

| | |
|---|---|
| 41. . . . . | Sacred bulls carved in stone, |
| 42. sha kipi sikni-sun, | which conceal a divine presence, |
| 43. tsati-sin wetarru, | I placed beside the gates, |

Whenever these bulls are mentioned, the expressions used become mysterious or symbolical, and I am unable to offer a certain transcription of the cuneiform signs employed in line 41. But I will revert to the subject later, and in the meanwhile observe that perhaps the line mentions the sacred lions also. These symbolic animals were objects of the highest veneration, as being supposed to be inhabited by the Divine Spirit, though outwardly forms of stone.

*Kipi*. Heb. חפה, *khipah*, to conceal, or to veil.

*Sikni*. Chald. שכינא, habitatio (scil. Dei): et inde Dei præsentia, divinitas ipsa, et spiritus sanctus in prophetis habitans. (Schindler 1857.) Similar to this was the superstitious awe entertained for certain stones—a kind of magnets—called *Bætylia*, that is to say, *Beth-El*, habitation of God; because a spirit was supposed to dwell in them and cause their wonderful movements.

*Tsati*. Heb. צד, *tsad*, latus.

*Wetarru.* Heb. עדר, *edar* or *adar*, disposuit, ordinavit.

| | |
|---|---|
| 44. Natsiru kipsi, mushallimu | guardians of the treasure, preservers |
| 45. tallakti sari bani-sun : | of the revenue, of the king who constructed them : |
| 46. (. . . .) weshashbit | every one of them I located |
| 47. sisa-shin. | in their place. |

If the palace had four gates, there must have been eight of these bulls at least, therefore the expression "every one of them" is suitable. They were supposed to stand as guardians at the gates over the king's wealth. This is something like other ancient superstitions; Gryphons were supposed to guard hidden treasures.

*Natsiru.* Heb. *natsir*, נצר, custodivit.

*Tallakti*, probably a verbal substantive from Heb. *alak*, הלך, ire, venire. In Greek, *πρόσοδος* is the public revenue (but originally meant only a *going* or *coming*). So Latin, *reditus*, *proventus;* and English, *income*, *returns*.

The first sign in line 46 appears to mean "every," for it occurs in that sense, Col. VI. 46.

| | |
|---|---|
| 48. Haikal pili u (. . . .) | This palace of stone and cedar-wood |
| 49. mati muduti | of immense size |
| 50. ana sutahuti belluti-ya | for the [residence?] of my majesty |
| 51. naklish weshapish. | splendidly I finished. |

*Mati.* Heb. מד, mensura.

The syllable *lish* in *naklish* is by error made *su* in the lithograph.

| | |
|---|---|
| 52. Shal ili danni eri mashaati | Sculptures of the great gods, made of bronze painted (or varnished) |

53. sha akhi inna pana u ar(ki) — on both sides, and before and behind,

54. in atda-su kilatan kirebsha [valbit]. — in the (closed apartments ?) of its interior, I constructed.

*Mashaati.* From משח, to anoint, to paint. See Schindl. p. 1044. Statues were varnished and sometimes anointed anciently. This account of painted sculptures representing the gods occurs again in the inscription in the British Museum volume, pl. 44, 80, with the verb *valbit* at the end. Schindler, p. 1044, has משח, pinxit; ממשח, pictura.

*Akhi* or *akha*, a side. *Akha anna*, this side. *Akha ulluya*, the other side. *Akhi inna*, on both sides. (Such, at least, I believe to be the meaning of the last phrase.)

*Valbit.* This word is effaced, but the commencement of it remains visible.

## *Column VI.*

1. (. . . .) tsiruti — Cornices (?) of lofty cedar wood

2. its abimi, kulul babat-sin ebit. — and *ebony* (?) wood, on the top of the gates I made.

The second sign of line 1 is effaced; I suppose it should be *ik*.

*Kulul*, the summit. Chald. כליל, summitas, corona. Schindler, p. 861, has collected many examples.

*Babat.* Perhaps the doors of the interior apartments.

3. Sikhirti haikal shatu, — The whole of that palace,

4. nibikhu pashku sha ka, zamat — with lofty *nibikh* of ivory and lapis lazuli

5. weshapishu, weshalma kilisu. — I finished, and I completed its *kili*.

*Kili.* These may be the same as *beth kili*, the closed apartments, or *harem.*

*Weshalma* is properly, I made safe or secure.

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. Tsillulat gigu kima (. . . .) | With flat roofs like (. . . .) |
| 7. weshaskir gimir babni. | I covered all the apartments. |

*Babni*, I take to be 'apartments' and not 'gates.'

*Tsillulat, tsululi*, etc., often occur in the sense of the roof of a building, from Heb. צל, צלל, umbra.

*Gigu* is exactly the Heb. גגה, *giga*. See Ges. 195. He says, "tectum domûs, idque in Oriente planum." (Josh. ii. 6; 1 Sam. ix. 25; Proverbs xxi. 9; etc.) It was the flat roof on which the inmates of the palace were accustomed to sit in the cool of the evening. Elsewhere the king says he built a *low* building, *after the fashion of Syria*. This tallies well with the present mention of the *flat roof*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. Sikkat kaspa ebbi, u takabar namri | With ornaments of pure silver and shining copper |
| 9. werattah kireb-(sha). | I adorned the interior. |

*Ebbi*, from *eb*, totus. Argentum integrum, *i. e.* purum.

*Werattah.* See Col. V. 40. רתק, to fasten. "I hung the walls of the interior apartments with shining ornaments."

*Sikkat*, imagery. Heb. שכיה, imago, species (Ges. 962). The root is Chal. שכא or סכא, aspexit. Hence *maskit*, משכית, imago, figura (Ges. 623), which word is especially applied to *inner apartments* with figured walls, which were therefore called חדרי משכית, "conclavia imaginum," *i. e.* "quorum parietes figuris idolorum depictis ornati erant" (Ges.). These chambers,

described by Ezekiel, probably resembled those of Esarhaddon's palace mentioned in line 8.

At the end of line 9 the word *sha* is effaced on the cylinder.

In line 2, *ebit* should perhaps be read *emit*. It may be the Heb. הֶעֱמִיד, 'statuit, constituit,' Hiph. of עמד, stetit; which verb is used in architecture, *e. g.* עמוד, columna.

| | |
|---|---|
| 10. Danan Ashur bel-ya, | The glory of Ashur, my lord, |
| 11. sha as mati nakrati | with which in the lands of his enemies |
| 12. ilubusu, | he clothed himself, |
| 13. (....) in kharrakuti etziba kireb-sha. | *displayed* (?) in bas-reliefs, I sculptured within it. |

*Danan* is probably 'glory,' from *dan*, great.

*Nakrati* is feminine to agree with *mati*. From *nakra*, 'a foreigner,' and generally 'an enemy.' Heb. נכר, alienus, peregrinus.

*Ilubusu*. Heb. לבש, to clothe; metaphorically, in Ezekiel, "induit terrorem." Compare also this passage from the Psalms, "splendorem ac majestatem induisti," לבשת.

*Karrakuti*, or *-duti*. Heb. חרש, sculpsit; in Greek, χαρακ-, χαρασ-, χαρατ-.

*Etziba*. Heb. עצב, 'formavit, finxit,' and as a substantive, 'simulacrum.' One stroke has been lost from the syllable *ba* in the lithographed text.

| | |
|---|---|
| 14. Shari tsiruti takut mati Khamanu, | With lofty *shar* trees, cut down in the land of Khamana, |
| 15. sha kala shimdi u itzidi | which all joiners and wood-cutters |
| 16. kharru-su, itakha-sha emit. | like best, I erected its porticoes. |

These *shar* or *khar* trees are very frequently men-

tioned. The next sign, *makh* or *tsir*, does not appear to me to be part of the name, but an adjective expressive of excellence or loftiness.

*Takut*, felled or cut down. This is a participle from the Syriac verb ܬܚܬ, *dejectus fuit*. This root occurs very frequently in Hebrew, with the general sense of down, downwards, low, humble, inferior, etc. etc.

*Khamanu*. Heb. חרמון, Mount Hermon.

*Shimdi*, joiners; from Heb. צמד, to join together.

*Itzidi*, woodcutters; from Heb. עצד, *etzid*, to cut down with an axe. Gesenius, p. 787, says, "securi cecidit."

In these two words we have examples of a cuneiform sign which frequently occurs, whose value is *di*. I do not find it anywhere in the published lists; it is compounded of two signs resembling those used for *khi* and *ha*.

*Kharru;* they love, they prefer. Heb. יקר, carus fuit.

*Itakha*. Heb. אתיק, which Gesenius, p. 117, renders "genus quoddam columnarum, *περιστυλον*, porticum."

*Emit*. See the note on Col. VI. 2.

| | |
|---|---|
| 17. Kishalla-sha ma-rab urab-bi; | Its treasure rooms I much enlarged; |
| 18. tallakta-sha mahatish urappish | its coursing grounds I greatly extended |
| 19. ana masuk kurra kireb-sha. | for the exercising of horses within it. |

This palace, or great central establishment, comprised gardens and fields within its limits.

I know not what the syllable *ma* means prefixed to *rab*, unless the group stands for *mati-rabi*, "in a great

proportion;" Heb. מד, mensura. But perhaps the text is uncertain.

*Tallakta*, 'courses,' from Heb. הלך, 'ire, proficisci,' and as a substantive 'via.' I may here remark that in Col. V. 44, *mushallimu tallakti sari bani sun* ought to have been translated "who make safe the *paths* of the king their constructor," *i. e.* guardians of his life.

*Masuk*, properly a gentle running or exercising. Heb. משך, *masuk*, discursitatio. See Gesenius, p. 632. The root is שקך, 'discursitavit,' which loses one letter in the future, ישך.

| | |
|---|---|
| 20. Pattu ushashar-amma, | Streams of water I conducted together, |
| 21. ushabiba tappish. | and I filled them excellently. |

The general sense of this clause may be given, but some words are obscure.

*Pattu* is used in other passages for 'waterworks' or 'aqueducts.' Thus, after giving an account of a great work of this kind, the king says, "I called its name the *patti* of Sennacherib." And such waterworks are elsewhere called *ami pattati*. The root may be *patah*, פתה, to open.

In line 50 of Bellino's cylinder, the word *ashur* signifies "I conducted," viz. a stream of water. This verb seems to be the Heb. אשר, *asher*, 'duxit,' which verb is used in a good sense, so that "duxit feliciter" may be generally understood. See Ges. p. 109.

*Ushashar*, "I caused to be led," seems to be the *sha* or causative conjugation of this verb. "I gave orders to dig these streams or conduits."

*Ushabiba* may be one of the forms of the root שבע "full;" it would then mean "I filled." After this word

we find the monosyllable *a*, which sometimes means 'water,' but whether it does so here I cannot say.

*Tappish* may mean 'excellently,' from טב, bene. On comparing the parallel passage in Bellino's cylinder, line 61, we find a remarkable various reading—*ushabiba pattish*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 22. Haikal suata valta vassisha | That palace from its foundations |
| 23. adi galubi-sha | to its roof |
| 24. artzib ushaklilu. Lulie umalli | I built up and I finished. And I made *lulie* |
| 25. ab rab meshbab-ya. | for the great Senators of my Council. |

The *lulie* were perhaps rows of circular seats; from Heb. לולים, scalæ cochleatæ.

*Umalli*. Heb. עמל, laboravit.

*Ab rab*, written short for *abim rabim*, great fathers or noble senators. These *abim* may be compared with the Patres Conscripti of the Romans; they are frequently mentioned in Sargon's inscriptions. Compare senatus, γερουσια, assembly of elders.

*Meshbab*, a council; properly, sitting in a circle; sometimes a family council. The root is Heb. סבב, *shabab*, to surround. Gesenius, p. 701, says "cinxit, circumdedit." Persons surrounding a man are called his סביבים. In the cuneiform writing *meshbab* is written—mesh . eb . eb.

26. Haikal pakidat kala mu ashkura nibit-tsa.

*Pakidat*, protection, care, custody.

Heb. *pakad*, פקד, curam gerere; and as a substantive, פקדה, cura, custodia (Ges. p. 836).

*Mu*, name, denomination. *Pakidat kala mu*, protecting care of every kind.

| | |
|---|---|
| 27. Ashur, Ishtar sha Ninua, ilim Ashur-ki | Ashur, Ishtar of Nineveh, and the gods of Assyria |
| 28. kali-sun, as girbi-sha akriba. | all of them, in its chapels I worshipped. |
| 29. (....) urrikhti ebbuti | Victims of rare perfection |
| 30. makhar-sun akki: | I sacrificed to their divinities: |
| 31. uwekhira katraya | . . . . . |
| 32. ilu shatunu askun libbi-sun. | and I did for those deities according to their wish. |

*Ebbuti*, perfection; or, as an adjective, 'perfect.'

*Makhar* often seems to mean 'divinity.' Some connection with the Greek *μακαρ* suggests itself.

Compare *μακαρες θεοι αιεν εοντες.*

Line 31, the meaning is doubtful.

*Lib*, the heart; also, 'the heart's desire.'

| | |
|---|---|
| 33. Iktar rabu sarruti, | I assembled together the great men of my empire, |
| 34. rabi u nisi mat-ya kali-sun | the noblemen and the commoners of my land, all of them, |
| 35. as tazirti u kirieti, | [to aid me (?)] with their help and their foresight, |
| 36. as itz . . . . tasilati | and their well-weighed counsels; |
| 37. kireb-sha ushasibu; | within the palace I caused them to sit |
| 38. ushaliza nupar-sun. | . . . . . |

*Iktar*, I assembled; properly "I surrounded myself with." From the root כתר, *kitar*, cinxit, circumdedit.

*Tazirti*, help; verbal substantive from Heb. *ezer*, עזר, to help.

*Kirieti*, foresight, caution, knowledge (Schind. 548).

Chald. חור, prospexit, cavit, cognovit. The first substantive in line 36 seems to be some form of the Heb. עצה, consilium.

*Tasilati*, well-weighed; from Heb. סלה, *silah*, to weigh.

I cannot explain line 38, unless by the following supposition. Perhaps the king says that he only admitted to his councils those of his subjects who were exalted or conspicuous (*tasilati*, from סלל, exaltavit) for their usefulness, perspicacity (or forethought), and wise counsels; but that on the other hand *he excluded the foolish*.

As an example of the verb סלל in the sense of 'exaltavit,' the following is very apposite, סלסלה, *effer laudibus* sapientiam. See Ges. p. 715.

Now with respect to my version of the other clause, *ushaliza nupar-sun*, "I excluded the foolish," it is to some extent borne out by the Hebrew, for חלץ signifies 'separavit, removit,' and is particularly used of removing some men from a company of others (Schindl. 588); and *nupar* answers to נבל, a foolish man. Gesenius, p. 642, says "נבל, stultus, vel impius, nequam." By the way, the Latins seem to have taken their word *nebulo* from נבל, probably from hearing their Syrian slaves use that term of contempt towards each other. We may therefore render *ushaliza nupar-sun*, "extrusi sive ejeci improbos eorum." It may add a trifle to the evidence to remark that Nebuchadnezzar also declares, though using very different words, that *evil-doers* shall not enter his palace.

39. (. . . .) kurunnu, sha kira
tsurra-sun

40. (. . . .) eli-sun ushakin. as . . . . I established over them.

This obscure passage appears to relate to the sacred bulls of stone in the Hall of Assembly, which presided as it were over their deliberations and sanctified them. The first sign in line 39 implies *quadrupeds*, then follows *kurunnu*, horned; Heb. קרן. The next sign, partly effaced on the cylinder, should doubtless be read *sha*. The word *kira* is also injured and doubtful. The meaning of the passage can only be a matter of conjecture. Perhaps it means "whose heads alone are visible." We may suppose some such architectural arrangement in the Hall of Assembly. Or it may mean "whose height is very conspicuous, or noble." Heb. חור, nobilis. But the true sense is very doubtful.

*Sha kira tsurra-sun*. *Tsur* or *tsir* is the summit of anything.

*Kira*, visible, conspicuous. Chald. and Syr. חור, to behold, to look at. Syr. חורא, a thing looked at (Schindl. 549).

The beginning of line 40 is equally difficult. It seems to read *nishak niguta;* we have the Chald. נסך, 'princeps' (see Schindl. 1130), and נגוד, *negud*, 'antistes,' or high priest.

*Eli-sun ukin*, I established over them, is a very common phrase. Here we have *eli-sun ushakin*, which is merely another conjugation. Hence the sense may perhaps be, "I established over them, as high-priests and rulers, these sacred bulls." Perhaps, if a better copy of the inscription were to be discovered, these difficulties would disappear.

| | |
|---|---|
| 41. As kibit Ashur sar ilim, u ilim Ashur-ki | By the will of Ashur, king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria |
| 42. kali-sun, as thup ammati, khut libbi, | all of them, with full assemblies, intelligent minds, |

| | |
|---|---|
| 43. numakhar kabitti, shabie lattuti, | much honour and abundant profit, |
| 44. kireb-sha darish lutassibu: | may they ever continue to assemble within it! |
| 45. lusbaa lala-sha. | (And so) may the glory of this palace be full! |

*Thup* is probably Heb. טוּ, bonus.

*Ammati* may be the Heb. עמה and עמת, from עם, populus, multitudo. Arab. عمة, an assembly, a synagogue.

*Khut*, quick, sharp, acute. Chald. חוד, acutè dixit (Schindl. 526, 535); חד and חדד, 'acutus fuit,' used of sharpening *the intellect*. Arab. حد, 'acutus' and 'acies.' חד *al sif*, the sharp edge of a sword.

*Shabie*. Heb. שבע, abundans.

*Lattuti* appears to be from the Heb. root ילד, which occurs so frequently in the inscriptions. It may be compared with such words as *produce*, *profit*, τοκος.

*Lutassibu*, one of the conjugations of ישב, 'to be seated,' with the optative participle *lu* (would that!) prefixed.

*Lusbaa*, may it be full! Root שבע, satur factus est, satur fuit.

*Lala-sha*, 'its glory,' viz. that of the palace.

| | |
|---|---|
| 46. as (. . . . . .) kishakti zir kur karniski, | For every kind of useful work, may a noble race of horses, |
| 47. susi, (. . . . . .), gammali, | mares, beasts of burden, and camels, |
| 48. belli hunut takhazi | able to carry the implements of war |
| 49. gimir kulil, shallat nakiri | of a whole army, (and also may) the spoils of foreign nations, |
| 50. matti uma, la naparkaya | in an equal proportion, and that not a small one, |
| 51. lupkida kireb-sha! | be carefully preserved within it! |

In line 46 the second sign means 'every,' as appears by comparison with Col. V. 46. I believe it should be read *zaku*, which is properly 'united' or 'bound together.' Chald. זך.

The next sign, meaning 'kind,' occurs frequently.

*Kishakti*, written *ki . ish . shak . ti . i*, means 'utility.' Chald. חשח, 'commodum fuit,' etc. (Schindl. 669.)

*Kur*, precious. Root, Heb. יקר, carus fuit.

In line 47 the sign which is enclosed in a parenthesis means 'servant,' and it follows the sign for 'quadruped;' I have therefore translated it "beasts of burden."

*Belli*, able to carry; literally, 'masters of;' a Hebraism.

*Kulil*, an army, is often expressed as here by the signs 'armed man' and 'many.' It may be read as *kulil*, or perhaps *ummanati*.

*Matti*, Heb. מד, a measure or proportion.

*Uma*, similis; we may either translate 'mensurâ simili' or 'mensurâ communi.' Heb. preposition עם, *cum*, and as an adjective 'communis.' Arab. עממי, *ummi*, communis (Schindler).

*La naparkaya*. Nebuchadnezzar uses this phrase in one of his inscriptions, where he says that he adorned a temple with no stinted hand. It seems to be the Niph. of the Heb. פרך, *parak*, 'comminuit,' and therefore to mean properly 'comminutus.'

*Lupkida*, may they be carefully protected! This tense of the verb *pakad*, פקד, 'curam gerere,' is interesting. We see that this great building was very properly named the *Pakidat*, curatrix, or conservatrix, of all manner of things of public utility.

| | |
|---|---|
| 52. As kireb haikal shatu | Within this palace |
| 53. (. . . . . .) ki il dandun | may the Sacred Bull (*i.e.* carved in stone), |
| 54. natsir kipsi sarti-ya, | the guardian of the wealth of my kingdom, |
| 55. mukhadu kabitti-ya | the giver of joy to my greatness, |
| 56. darish lishtapru | decree that, For ever |
| 57. iptakhu ida-sha! | its duration shall last! |

Line 53, taken not from the text but from the margin, denotes the Sacred Bull. It is obscure, but may perhaps be explained thus:—The first sign denotes a quadruped; then follows *ki il dandun*, like the Supreme Deity. The Sacred Bull was in fact held to be emblematic of the Deity.

For *dandun* we frequently find *dandanni*, greatest of the great; derived from *dan*, great.

*Ki* is the Hebrew particle כ, *ki*, which is used in this sense, *e. g.* כסאו כ שמש, his throne is *ki shemesh*, like the sun.

*Mukhadu*, Heb. חדה, to rejoice.

*Kabitti*, Heb. כבד, glory, greatness.

*Darish*, for ever. Heb. דר, *dar*, sæculum.

*Lishtapru*, may he divinely decree! The optative of the *ishtaphel* conjugation of *dabar*, דבר, to decree, as a divine oracle does. Hence in Hebrew דביר, *dabir*, the oracle of Jehovah, or the holy of holies. Also דבר, an oracle; and דבר יהוה, the word of the Lord. N.B. The first syllable of *lishtapru* is erroneously printed as *su* in the lithograph. The difference between these two signs is very small. The word *lishtapru* is followed by the syllable *ya;* but judging from the text as given by Layard in the first series of British Museum inscriptions (58, line 12), I should rather

think that this is the first syllable of the following word, *yaptakhu*.

*Iptakhu* or *yaptakhu*, it shall extend; future of *patakh*, פתח, expandere.

*Ida*. Heb. עדה, and עד, ævum, ætas, sæculum, æternitas; as הורי עד, the eternal mountains; לעולם ו עד, for ever and ever.

*Ida-sha*, sæculum ejus, duratio ejus.

I will take this occasion to remark that Mount Ida, the Phrygian Olympus, probably meant "the Mountain of the Eternals—the *Ἀθανατοι*."

| | |
|---|---|
| 58. Ana arkut tami, as sarin bali-ya, | In future days, under the kings my sons, |
| 59. sha Ashur u Ishtar ana billut mati u nisi | whom Ashur and Ishtar to rule over this land and people |
| 60. inambu zigir-su, | shall name their names, |

That is, whom the gods shall *call* to rule over Assyria. The notion was, that their names were audibly called in heaven (probably at their birth). They ruled therefore by divine right. We read in Scripture that the Lord called Samuel audibly by his name when he appointed him to be a prophet.

| | |
|---|---|
| 61. Enu haikal shaata | When this palace |
| 62. ilabbiru inakhu, | shall grow old and decay, |

*Ilabbiru*, from the root *labar*, old; very common in Assyrian, but not found, I think, in the other Semitic languages.

| | |
|---|---|
| 63. Ankhut-sa luttish. | may (some one) repair its injuries! |

*Ankhut*. This word is very doubtful, though the passage occurs frequently. It may come from Heb. *anah*, ענה, to injure; but I am more disposed to read

*Elakhutsa*, 'its injuries,' from the Heb. *lakhats*, לחץ, calamitates.

*Tsa*, feminine, 'of it,' coalesces with the last syllable of *lakhats*.

*Luttish*, may he restore! Other tenses of the same verb are *uttish*, I restored; *muttish*, the restorer.

| | |
|---|---|
| 64. Ki sha anaku musharu sidhir | In like manner as I the writings written |
| 65. sumu sari abi bani-ya itti musharı sidhir sum-ya | with the name of the king my father, along with the writings written with my own name |
| 66. ashkun, uma atta kima yaati-u | have set up, so do Thou, like myself, |
| 67. musharu sidhir sum-ya akharu, | read aloud the writings written with my name, |
| 68. (. . . .) busu, vas lu (. . .) ikki, | erect an altar, sacrifice a male victim, |
| 69. itti musharı sidhir sum-ka sukun! | and set them up along with the writings written with thy own name. |
| 70. Ashur u Ishtar | So Ashur and Ishtar |
| 71. ikribi-ka ishimmu. | shall hear thy prayers! |

This closing passage of the inscription is one of the most remarkable and instructive of any, for the syntax of the Assyrian language. The king addresses his successor, as in several other inscriptions.

*Ki-sha*, in like manner as.

*Musharu*, writings, or lines of writing; from the root *shar*, related to the Heb. שרה, a line, a row. It will be observed that when this word occurs in the accusative case it is written *musharu*, and when in the oblique case *mushari*.

*Sidhir*, written. This is from the same root as *esthur*, I wrote. Heb. שטר, *scripsit*.

"A name" is written *mu*, but probably pronounced *sum*, as in Hebrew. *Mu* may have been the proto-Chaldæan word.

*Abi*, patris; *bani-ya*, genitoris mei. *Abi* alone is sometimes vaguely used as 'ancestor.'

*Ashkun*. Heb. שכן, collocavit.

*Uma*, similiter.

*Atta*, thou. The same as in Hebrew.

*Yaati*, I myself. This is followed by *u* (also). The word *yaati* often occurs, and is evidently compounded of *ya*, 'ego,' and *ati*, 'self,' which is the Heb. את, *αυτος*, ipse, 'self.' The Greek *αυτος* comes so near in sound as to appear cognate with the Hebrew. A great many examples are given by Gesenius, as את כם, vos ipsi. Similarly, *su* compounded with את makes *suatu*, *suata* (ille ipse), which word occurs continually in the inscriptions.

*Akharu*, imperative of *khar*, 'to read.' Heb. קרא, *kara*, to read (Daniel v. 8, etc.).

Line 68 commences with a sign which signifies a stone altar.

*Basu*, 'construct!' imperative of the verb *ebus*, I constructed.

*Vas*. This sign is often employed to signify a *male*.

A victim is usually denoted by *lu* with a peculiar sign following, which may be connected with *duk*, to slay. Here *lu* seems to mean 'animal,' for *lutsieni* are sheep, which is expressed in Hebrew by *tsieni* alone, צאן.

*Ikki*, 'sacrifice thou!' imperative of the verb of which *akki*, 'I sacrificed' (see Col. VI. 30), is the indicative mood; and *likki*, 'may he sacrifice,' is the optative. But the first syllable, *ik*, of this word is misprinted in the lithograph.

*Sukun*, 'colloca, vel statue!' is the imperative of the verb of which *askun*, 'I fixed up' (see line 66), is the indicative mood.

*Ikribi*, prayers. See Col. VI. 28, *akriba*, I prayed.

*Ishimmu*, 'they shall hear!' future of Heb. שמע, to hear.

---

The inscription is followed by a single line, unconnected with the rest, which reads:—

In the month Ab, day the 18th.

But on the other cylinder it reads:—

As arki (. . . . .) limmi Hatarel bel-nam ir Lakhiri
In the month (. . . . .) in the year bearing the name of Hatarel, Prefect of the city of Lakhiri.

He was the Eponymus of that year.

*Hatarel*, 'he who honours God,' or 'is honoured by God.' Heb. הדר, honour, which word is applied to the Deity in the Psalms: "Thou hast clothed thyself with honour," הדר.

*Lakhiri*. This city is often mentioned in Sargon's inscriptions.

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I will here add a few emendations which occurred to me during the printing of these sheets:—

Col. I. line 42 should perhaps be read:—

Sumi ilim rabim ana akhati izkur uma.

And translated:—

The names of the great gods he wrote by the side of one another and all together.

The next line adds:—

And he trusted to their mysterious power.

We may suppose that he wore this list of holy names as a talisman or amulet round his neck.

I find from the Michaux stone (last line, Col. I., which speaks of writing or carving the names of the great gods on a memorial stone), that the verb *izkur* is employed *alone*. Now here it is followed by *uma*, which therefore has an independent meaning; and as *uma* often means 'simul,' I have adopted that meaning here. The Hebrew עִם, 'simul,' agrees with the Assyrian.

*Izkur*, from Heb. זכר, *zakur*, memoravit, recordatus est. But to *record* a thing *in writing* is much the same as to write it, and therefore I think *izkur* is simply *scripsit*.

*Ana akhati* means 'by the side of one another,' as appears from an inscription of Ashurbanipal, where he relates how he cut off the heads of the king of the Susians and his little son, *ana akhati*, side by side. It comes from *akha*, 'the side of anything,' a very common word in Assyrian. And by the way, this passage of Ashurbanipal shows by analogy that Col. I. line 51 of the present inscription means that Esarhaddon cut off the heads of the two kings *by the side* (as kishadi) of their principal chiefs.

Line 48 is perhaps to be translated *Limi imma*, 'in that same year;' *assu danan Ashur bel-ya*, 'I devoted to Ashur my Lord;' *nisi zir*, 'these enemies.' Here *zir* or *ziri* stands for the usual word *zairi*, 'enemies.' Heb. זר, *zir*, 'an enemy.' (Ges. 310.) Or perhaps *assu danan Ashur bel-ya*, means 'I made a triumph unto

Ashur my Lord,' or 'I led in triumph before him,' *nisi zir*, 'these enemies.' So the Egyptian sculptures represent the Pharaohs presenting their captives to Amun.

In Col. III. line 31, *Khatzu* is perhaps the proper name of a country, and the rest of the line means 'which is the country which produces the *shakkilnam* stone.' This seems probable, on account of the exact parallelism of Col. IV. line 10, where Bikni is called 'the country which produces the *zamat* stone.'

In Col. VI. line 13, *etziba* seems not to be the verb עצב, but חצב, which Gesenius, p. 362, renders 'to carve stones.'

In Col. V. line 38, I translated the clause *sha eritssin khiga*, "whose sawn planks are excellent;" though I was very doubtful of the Hebrew word corresponding to *erits*. It has since occurred to me that it may be ארזה, planks of cedar, "cedrinum tabulatum, vel contignatio domorum cedris tectarum" (Schindl. 118).

In Col. V. line 7, for *asibut* read *alibut*, which perhaps may mean *loca pinguia*, from the root חלב, *haleb*, pinguis. Other inscriptions also intimate that this mound was made of soft fat earth removed from the river banks; which, indeed, must have been the readiest mode of obtaining a sufficient quantity of earth for so large a work in the centre of a populous city. With respect to the root חלב, 'pinguis,' as applied to *earth*, Gesenius observes that Aleppo, in Greek *Χαλυβων*, was so named from its fertile soil.

In Col. V. line 41, I would translate, "Sacred bulls and lions made of stone." Oppert says (p. 93) that he has found the second sign explained in the syllabaries by *alapu*, bulls, Heb. אלף. If this is correct, I

would propose to take the sixth sign with the value *lab*, which it very frequently has, for instance in the present inscription, Col. VI. 62, in the word *ilabbiru*, "it shall grow old." Now this syllable *lab* in the Hebrew language expressed *a lion*, לָבִי or לָבִיא. If this supposition is correct, it is important, as giving us the true name of the lion in Assyrian. Moreover this sign (the sixth in the line) has various pronunciations in the cuneiform system of writing, such as *dan*, *kal*, etc., all of which have the same meaning, "great" or "powerful." Hence I conclude that the original meaning of *labi*, לָבִי, a lion, may have been "the powerful animal," just as he is called by us 'the king of beasts.'

In Col. V. line 17, if *shal* has its usual meaning, viz. "female," we may translate "lionesses."

In Col. VI. line 60, we have *inambu*, "he shall call, or name." I have considered this verb to be connected with the Indo-Germanic root *nam*, a name; but Oppert (page 317) views it as a variation of the Semitic root נבא, which doubles the middle letter and reads *nabba*. In this he is probably right, for נבא signifies *vi divinâ locutus est* (Ges. 638), and is therefore most suitably employed to express a decree pronounced by the gods.

In Col. III. line 55, *Ruta* simply means "dwellings," as appears from the Tiglath Pileser inscription (B. M. plate 15, line 34).

In Col. VI. line 36, *Tasilati* means "exalted." The sense is fixed by the passage (B. M. pl. 15, line 92), where a temple of the gods is called *miship tasilti-sun*, the dwelling of their highnesses.

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